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SIR MARTIN FROBISHER

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SIR MARTIN FROBISHER

THE LIFE

OF

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER, KNIGHT

CONTAINING A

NARRATIVE OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

BY THE

REV. FRANK JONES, B.A.

LONDON
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1878

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TO THE

REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A.

VICAR OF ST. PANCRAS AND RURAL DEAN
HON. CANON OF GLOUCESTER
EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL
ETC.

THIS WORK

IS GRATEFULLY AND RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

PREFACE

FROBISHER is a historical figure which has always stood behind Hawkins and Drake, and been hidden by them. Frobisher has come to be considered as an appendage of the other two Admirals; and to ordinary readers of history is as an item in the multiplication table which can only be reached after repeating the column. But he had an individuality perhaps more clear and prominent than any of the other great mariners that served the Queen. He was something more than a privateer and a warrior.

It is in the hope of bringing Frobisher out of his historical seclusion that this biography is issued.

F. J.

FOREST HILL: 1878.

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A RYTHME DECASYLLABICALL UPON THIS LAST LUCKIE VOYAGE OF WORTHIE CAPTAINE FROBISHER, 1577.

(From Brydges's *Restituta*, vol. ii., p. 202.)

Through sundrie foming fretes and storming streightes
That ventrous knight of Ithac' soyle did saile:
Against the force of Syrens baulmed heights,
His noble skill and courage did prevaile.
His hap was hard, his hope yet nothing fraile.
Not ragged rockes, not sinking syrtes or sands
His stoutnesse staide from viewing foreign lands.

That Poet's penne and paines was well employ'd,
His brains bedeaw'd with dropps of Parnasse spring;
Whereby renowne deserved he enjoy'd.
Yea, nowe (though dead) the Musses sweetly sing,
Melodiously by note, and tuned string,
They sound in th' eares of people farre and neere,
Th' exceeding praise of that approved Peere.

A right heroicall heart of Britanne blood
Ulysses match in skill and martiall might;
For princes fame and countries speciall good,
Through brackish seas (where Neptune reignes by right)
Hath safely sail'd, in perils great despight:
The golden fleece (like Jason) hath he got,
And rich returned, saunce losse or lucklesse lot.

O that I had old Homer's worthy witt,
O that I had, this present houre, his head:
With penne in hand, then musing would I sitt,
And our Ulysses' valiant venture spread
In vaunting verse, that when his corps is dead
(Which long may live) his true renowne may rest
As one whome God abundantly hath blest.

ABRAHAM FLEMING.

FROBISHER'S COAT OF ARMS.

'Ermine on a fesse ingrayled between three griffons heads, erase sable, a grey-hound cursant argent colored gules lyned or.'—*Harleia MSS.*, No. 4,630, p. 190.

LIFE OF SIR MARTIN FROBISHER.

CHAPTER I.

THE Frobisher family moved from Chi[illegible] to Yorkshire about the middle of the fourteenth century; the orthography of their patronymic being Furbisher, Furbiser, or Ffourbyssher. In both localities they allied themselves with old county families. The art of marrying well was one of their accomplishments. In Yorkshire the family centred around Altofts, in the parish of Normanton. One John Frobisher, of that place, was farmer of the king's demesne, and married to the daughter of Sir W. Scargell. His grandson, Francis, was Mayor and Recorder of Doncaster. The brother of Francis was named Bernard who married the daughter of a knight named York. To them were born John, Davy, Jane, Martin, and Margaret. The last-named was baptised in Normanton on February 10, 1541. Bernard Frobisher was buried at the same place on September 1, 1542.

From these considerations there can be little doubt that Martin was born between 1530–40, at Altofts. The mother, to relieve herself of a share of the burden of bringing up five children, sent Martin to her brother, Sir John York, then residing in London. An additional reason for

this transfer of the boy was that there were no suitable schools in his native place.

Sir John observed that his nephew was a youth 'of great spirit and bold courage and natural hardness of body,' which, in our phraseology, would run: brave, high-mettled, and with a good constitution. Whether his maternal uncle disliked the charge which he had undertaken, or found the 'great spirit' more than he could guide, or that young Martin would rove like any adventurous boy, matters little now, for to sea he went soon after his arrival in London.

There happened to be a small fleet of merchant ships on the point of sailing for the Coast of Guinea. The admiral was John Lock, and father or uncle of a Lock who will appear often in connection with Frobisher later on. This was in the year 1554. Martin was placed on board one of these ships, and sailed away upon what was then deemed a very long voyage and to but half-discovered places. The fleet returned in the following year, having been very prosperous. This was the first effort of the English to establish a permanent trade in African gold and ivory. The youth's first voyage confirmed him in the choice of a calling. To the end of his days he continued a sailor.

We hear nothing more of him for ten years; but there can be no doubt as to what he was doing. The curious reader may permit his imagination to place young Frobisher on board this or that ship sailing to the Levant, various places on the Coast of Africa, etc., for, by the year 1565, he had risen to be Captain Martin Frobisher.

English privateers were abroad on the seas commissioned to make war upon the French; but they were not particular as to the nationality of any richly-laden ship that came in their way. They anticipated Nelson's device

of putting the telescope to the blind eye when they scanned the flag of the prey. Flemings and Spaniards were seized as well as Frenchmen. The Spanish Ambassador sent in a complaint, and among sixty-one cases cited is the following:—

'The "Flying Spirit," from Andalusia, with a rich cargo of cochineal, was plundered by Martin Frobisher.'

In the spring of the next year he was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, fitting out a ship under circumstances that gave rise to suspicion that he intended piracy. In our day the pirate is the enemy of the whole human race, having no nationality or humanity, and recognising no law but his own will. Piracy in the time of Elizabeth was quite another matter, though it is very difficult to give anything like a definition. The privateer of modern times is very like. If no foreign ambassador was keen enough to detect the depredator, no Englishman troubled himself. On the other hand, when it was the Queen's interest to please the nations whose ships had been plundered the privateers were bluntly called pirates and hung out of hand.

Holland was then engaged in that war with Spain and the Inquisition which was to last a whole generation without a breathing-spell. England was throughout the friend of Holland, though blowing cold and hot by turns. In short, the world was divided among three warring hosts. In the East of Europe were the Mahomedans, headed by the Sultan; then came the Papacy, headed by Philip II.; and lastly Protestantism, headed by Elizabeth and the Prince of Orange. Between these three, exhaustion must precede peace; and in that long contest the distinctions recognised by ships and soldiers were not so much those of nationality as of religion. Philip was supplying the Catholics with the 'sinews of war' by denuding America. The Protes-

tants sought to cut off this stream of wealth by sending out privateers to capture the richly-laden carracks. And any respectable mariner who had the means to fit out a ship generally received a commission or letters of marque. It was by these that English battles were fought, English admirals trained, and English discoveries made. Many of these privateers proved to be ruffians, and some caution was necessary on the part of the Crown in granting commissions. Again, if the ambassador of Philip interfered, a show of indignation was made against the supposed pirate; for Elizabeth, while sending men and money to Holland, still kept talking peace with Spain.

Frobisher was examined by order of the Queen's Council, and in answer to various questions said that he intended a peaceable voyage to Benin, on the Coast of Guinea. It was true he had many pieces of cannon and some dozens of pikes on board; it was true also that he had taken in no cargo; but he intended to load her in the Western country. And it was so dangerous sailing the ocean in those days. Spain had said that no law was of force on the high seas. The consideration of the matter was postponed for awhile. And on its being subsequently resumed he was able to give an account of his ship, which had gone laden with coals under the command of his brother. He now asked for a commission from the Crown. Perhaps his chief fault lay in the fact that he had not done this before.

Again there comes a lapse of five years in Frobisher's life. During this time his name must have become somewhat known in naval warfare, for in 1571 he was at Plymouth, superintending the building of a ship to be employed against the Irish. Lord Burghley gave his countenance, and perhaps aid, in the matter. But greater schemes than harrying the Irish coasts had already begun

to grow in the mind of Frobisher, and it is not a far guess as to the beginning of them.

The Claverhouse of Ireland under Elizabeth was Sir Humphrey Gilbert. But cavalry raids were only a by-occupation to him. The search for a North-West Passage to Cathay was the dream of his life. He had been engaged a long time in writing a discourse, that afterwards became historical, to prove that it was practicable. It is more than probable that two such men as he and Frobisher, brought up sailors, of nearly the same age, and engaged in the subjugation of the same country, should have met and exchanged thoughts. The honour of their country would be a common subject of conversation. And the North-West Passage would seem to both as a certain way of furthering that matter and outshining the Spaniard.

CHAPTER II.

The motive of nearly all the voyages of discovery made for centuries was the search for Cathay.

In the thirteenth century missionaries of the Order of St. Francis penetrated to the utmost bounds of the East, establishing everywhere missions now forgotten. Among the various reports which they brought back of their conversions and miracles wrought among the heathen were many descriptions of the wealth and wonders of the great realm of Khitai, since recognised to be China.

The monk Odoric says of the island of Sillan that in it is a mountain on which Adam wept for his son, and that the tears of Adam and Eve formed a beautiful lake. 'The bottom of this pool is full of precious stones, and

the water greatly aboundeth in leeches. The king taketh not those gems for himself, but for the good of his soul once or twice a-year he suffereth the poor to search the water and take away whatever stones they can find. The water which comes down from the mountain issues forth by this lake. And the finest rubies are dug there; good diamonds too are found, and many other good stones. And where that water descends into the sea there be found fine pearls. Wherefore the saying goes that this king hath more precious stones than any other king in the world.'

Of the city of Cambalech and the residence of the Great Khan the monk gives a full description. There were an artificial mountain and an artificial lake, on which were multitudes of ducks, swans, and wild geese. Within the walls were thickets full of game. 'His own palace in which he dwells is of vast size and splendour. The basement thereof is raised about two paces from the ground, and within there be four-and-twenty columns of gold; and all the walls are hung with skins of red leather, said to be the finest in the world. In the midst of the palace is a certain great jar, more than two paces in height, entirely formed of a certain precious stone called merducas, and so fine that I was told its price exceeded the value of four great towns. It is all hooped round with gold, and in every corner thereof is a dragon, represented as in act to strike most fiercely. And this jar hath also fringes of network of great pearls hanging therefrom, and those fringes are a span in breadth.' The Great Khan's entertainments were attended by 'fourteen thousand barons, with coronets on their heads, waiting upon him at the banquet. And every one of them shall have a coat on his back such that the pearls on it alone are worth some fifteen thousand florins.' The Khan's leeches numbered

four hundred idolaters, eight Christians, and one Saracen. Another authority says: 'There is as great a difference between that prince and those of Italy as between a very rich man and a beggar.'

In this cautious way Friar Odoric speaks of the Barometz: 'Another passing marvellous thing may be related—which, however, I saw not myself, but heard from trustworthy persons—for 'tis said that in a certain great kingdom called Cadeli there be mountains called the Caspean Mountains, on which are said to grow certain large melons. And when these be ripe they burst, and a little beast is found inside like a small lamb, so that they have both melons and meat. And though some peradventure may find that hard to believe, yet it may be quite true, just as it is true that there be in Ireland trees which produce birds.'

Such accounts continued to be published in Europe throughout the fourteenth century, for the missionaries had been followed by merchants travelling overland. Later on an embassy was sent by the Great Khan to the Pope at Avignon. And the writer of a letter to Columbus says that he had spoken with the ambassador, and learned many things of Cathay; how that there were two hundred cities on one river, with marble bridges over it; more than one island abounded in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and they covered their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. The same writer states that he had learned a hundred large ships of pepper were loaded and unloaded every year in one part of Cathay, 'besides many other ships that take in other spice.'

Columbus was in search of Cathay when he made his great voyage across the Atlantic. He even died believing that the West Indies and the American continent were the extreme eastern regions of the sought-for land. The

city of Mexico was subsequently identified with the Quinsai of Marco Polo, and Hispaniola with Cipangu.

Henceforth it was the dream of almost every voyager to find a new way to Cathay; and moreover every newly discovered country was supposed to be a part of, or in some way connected with, that land of wonders.

In 1497—that is, within five years of the first voyage of Columbus—the Cabots sailed 'to the West unto the East.' They touched at Iceland, and proceeded thence to Labrador and Newfoundland.

In 1514, and again in 1517, the Portuguese made trading voyages to China by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. But it was still thought that Cathay and China were not identical. For many years longer Pekin continued to be called Cambalech, and the Emperor of China the Great Khan of Cathay.

In 1527 John Rut sailed out of Plymouth in quest of the great Oriental Utopia by the west; but he no sooner touched at Newfoundland and obtained a sight of the icebergs than he lost heart and made haste to return home again. He had the ambition without the courage of a discoverer.

In 1553 Sir Hugh Willoughby made an attempt to find a new way by the north-east along the upper coasts of Norway and Russia, hoping to continue sailing eastwards until he came to his destination. Among certain injunctions supplied to this expedition concerning divine service and the banishment of blasphemy, ungodly talk, dicing, carding, tabling, etc., is a direction that marks the beginning of the English policy with respect to religion, and which stands out in bold contrast with that of the Spaniards. While strict in their own observances on board they were to maintain a discreet silence on religious matters when dealing with strangers. Sir Hugh bore with him also a letter from Edward VI. addressed to 'the

kings, princes, and other potentates inhabiting the North-East of the world towards the mighty Empire of Cathay.' The chief result of this expedition was the founding of the Company of Moscovia.

Such is a brief account of the popular knowledge of Cathay, and of the efforts made, prior to the time of Humphrey Gilbert and Martin Frobisher, to find out the shortest way by which ships might reach it with their merchandise to exchange for pearls, diamonds, gold, spice, etc.

CHAPTER III.

THE world is familiar with the painful picture of Christopher Columbus passing through that which is the crucial test of greatness, wringing aid out of adverse circumstances, as he went from one great man to another in search of a patron, from one court to another, from one land to another, full of a great unappreciated purpose, and offering fame, riches, empires for a ship or two. Thus also might one describe the humble mariner Martin Frobisher spending fifteen years planning, inquiring, learning, and searching for help. From 1561 to 1576 he worked at the idea which possessed him, applying now to one quarter, and, being there disappointed, turning bravely to another. His perseverance was never subsequently put to so great a proof. He found his scheme more than once approved, and his hopes rose; but, learning that commendation did not bring assistance, and that without aid he was unable to furnish a ship, however small, his heart was again cast down.

Some faint ambition to become a discoverer had

doubtless possessed him when he was arraigned by order of the Privy Council to give an account of the ship so strangely provided in Newcastle. For he says himself that five years before that trial the North-West Passage had become the one aim of his life. His scheme was of even wider scope than that of either Marco Polo or Columbus, for he contemplated the circumnavigation of the globe, a task as yet unattempted. Of the existence of the North-West Passage he had not one remaining doubt; by it he would sail, and continue in the same course until he returned to England by the north-east. To him that seemed the noblest task that man could undertake, and one that would cause other princes to admire the fortunate state and the great valour of the English nation. Thus Frobisher proposed to himself on behalf of his country to eclipse the achievements of all preceding navigators, Phœnician, Venetian, Portuguese, and Spanish. And this, he said, he was determined to do or never return to his native land. It was a common thing in those days to wager one's life, limb, and liberty on a venture, but events proved they were no idle words in Frobisher's mouth.

In all his schemes and proposals there was not one word said of bringing home gold, pearls, valuable cargoes. The capture of Spanish carracks laden with treasure had no place in his heart; the only cargo he promised to bring home was honour to his country, fame for himself, and knowledge of new lands to the civilised world. He was not long in finding out that the capitalists of England were not prepared to venture their money in so purely a scientific expedition.

His first formal appeal for help was, naturally, to his friends. They answered that they were fully persuaded of his mastery of the art of navigation, and that he was

rich in experience of land and sea; they were ready to be persuaded that the North-West Passage was a reality; they had no doubt that such an expedition as was proposed would bring great glory to the country and the venturers. But they did not covet fame and honour; they preferred more tangible returns, and did not see any likelihood of gain accruing from a voyage through icy seas and along tempestuous coasts, undertaken for glory and the increase of knowledge. If it were a matter of glory for England, that obviously concerned the Crown more than it did them. No doubt they met his appeal for assistance with advice to try what the Court would do.

At any rate Frobisher's next appeal was made to the Court, deeming it to be the fountain of the commonwealth, from which all schemes for the good of the realm were nourished and maintained. He was not wrong in this opinion, for Elizabeth then reigned in England, and none knew better how to encourage or was more diligent in encouraging great enterprises. Much has been said of the Queen's parsimony; and though she did, perhaps, inherit some of her grandfather's husbandry of means, one should never forget the many demands upon her purse. Elizabeth laid the foundation of the principle now universally recognised, that the best charity is to help men to become self-dependent, and that voluntary efforts should pioneer the way and establish success before Government adoption. An approving smile from her or a kiss of the white hand of the last of the Tudors has sent many a man forth to face danger and attain glory.

Frobisher during his services in Ireland had doubtless been brought under the notice of Sir Henry Sidney, then commanding in that island. That knight's brother-in-law was the Earl of Warwick. And such may be the origin of the patronage that the earl now extended to Frobisher.

The earl was his first patron, and applied the whole of his great influence to set the enterprise on foot. He brought the matter to the notice of the Queen. Though Her Majesty rendered no material aid in ships or money, yet she gave the scheme her approval, which went a long way under the Tudors, when there was practically but one department of Government, and the head of it the monarch.

While this great undertaking was slowly incubating, the busy mariner comes for a moment out of the vague and uncertain background and makes a single movement on the front of the stage, and then steps back until his turn comes again.

In the year 1572 there was in London a notable Irishman living in the condition of a prisoner on bail, kept ever in sight by his surety. This was Garrett, Earl of Desmond, only suspected of treason, but subsequently driven by the dragonnading Malby across the Rubicon that separates treasonable sympathies and open rebellion.

To the spectators of the time Frobisher might have appeared in the character of a patriot, but to us his conduct, as that of Sir John Hawkins just before, looks very much like feathering his own nest by defrauding the enemy. We find it hard to accept the then approved doctrine that any act which went to weaken or denude the foe was justifiable.

Frobisher was at this time living in lodgings at Lambeth. His reputation for daring and seamanship was widespread. On a certain evening in August of 1572 one Ralph Whaley, a servant of Desmond, came into Frobisher's lodging and asked if he might trust him with a great secret. The captain was not a man to turn a deaf ear to a secret or to refuse a promise of inviolability. He was a man full of human nature, and to him Desmond was a

rebel. The secret accordingly came out. The earl, wearied with his enforced residence in London, which had now continued four years, was determined to escape. He had, furthermore, a delicate reason for hastening his departure: an heir was expected soon, and the earl would not have him born in England. If Frobisher could manage the escape he should be well recompensed.

But the captain doubted the earl's capacity to reward any man. Not long before he had sacrificed all his property by an unsuccessful attempt to escape, and had been living since on twenty-six shillings a week allowed him by the Queen out of his own forfeited princely estates.

Whaley replied that the earl could never want for a thousand pounds. These interviews continued for a couple of weeks. A ship was to be bought and commanded by Frobisher. The earl was to disguise himself as a fisherman, enter an oyster-boat, and in this way row down the Thames as making for the Essex oyster-beds; and when beyond the guard-ships at Gravesend to be picked up by Frobisher. Going overland to the coast was out of the question, for the earl—strangely for an Irishman—was 'an ill horseman,' and not able to mount without assistance. He proved himself active enough on land a few years afterwards.

Frobisher pretended to fall in with the scheme. He was requested, therefore, to provide a bark on the coast to take up the noble oysterman. Frobisher took a trip to Kent with the ostensible purpose of carrying out this part of the enterprise, and in due time returned to London, reporting that everything had been done according to the plan.

Whaley was continually in and out of the Lambeth lodgings. Ormond, he said, had come to town. Desmond and he had been reconciled. Ormond would give the two

schemers a ship worth five hundred pounds, together with his island of Valentia, should they succeed. A month or six weeks were wasted in other efforts at Court. Frobisher complained that he could not wait with an empty purse. The captain had to content himself with promises of plenty while the earl was still striving to get his countess a passport back to Ireland.

There was further lingering on the part of the earl, who disliked facing the Channel, for he was very subject to sea-sickness, he said. There was also more grumbling on the part of Frobisher, who hinted to Whaley that he suspected the earl meant to give him the slip and escape by other means. But Desmond was really perplexed what to do with his wife, and resolutely refused to escape until she had safely got away from England.

That Frobisher was the first to betray the plot is improbable, though he seems to have done it ultimately; for some time after the arrest of the earl and his men the captain made a full declaration of the whole affair to the Commissioners. In that age it was an approved apophthegm that 'all is fair in love and war.'

CHAPTER IV.

The Earl of Warwick's friends, Lord Burghley, Secretary Walsingham, the Earl of Leicester, Philip Sidney, and other illustrious men had now become interested in the success of the Cathayan expedition, and Frobisher's long winter of failure seemed to be thawing in the sun of the Court, when a new obstacle arose.

The unfortunate expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby

to the North-East in 1553 had opened up the coast of Europe to navigation as far as the White Sea. A lucrative trade in furs, tallow, etc., was established between that place and England. Queen Mary had granted a charter to the Muscovy or Russian Company to carry on the trade and 'the discovery of new trades.' This was understood to confer on them the monopoly of all discovery and adventure by Englishmen into every part of the world. When, therefore, Frobisher seemed to be likely to set his enterprise for discovering the North-West Passage on foot, the Muscovy Company objected on the ground that such an undertaking would be contrary to their privileges. Through the aid of his patrons, Frobisher obtained from the Privy Council a letter addressed to the Company, recommending them either to make the attempt themselves or grant others a license to make an effort in that direction.

The Court of the Company, on receiving this epistle, resolved to hold a conference with the person wishing to undertake such an enterprise, determined to talk as much as might be, but do nothing. At the conference Martin Frobisher represented himself and certain persons who were perhaps mythical. The Company was represented by Michael Lock and three more of their principal men. The conclusion arrived at on the part of the Company was to refuse either assistance or a license, on the ground that the whole affair was full of suspicious features, and evidently meant for other purposes than trade and discovery. There was here a suggestion of the charges brought against Frobisher on a former occasion.

So they thought to snuff out Martin Frobisher. Had they known their man better, perhaps they would have gained themselves fame by granting the license and

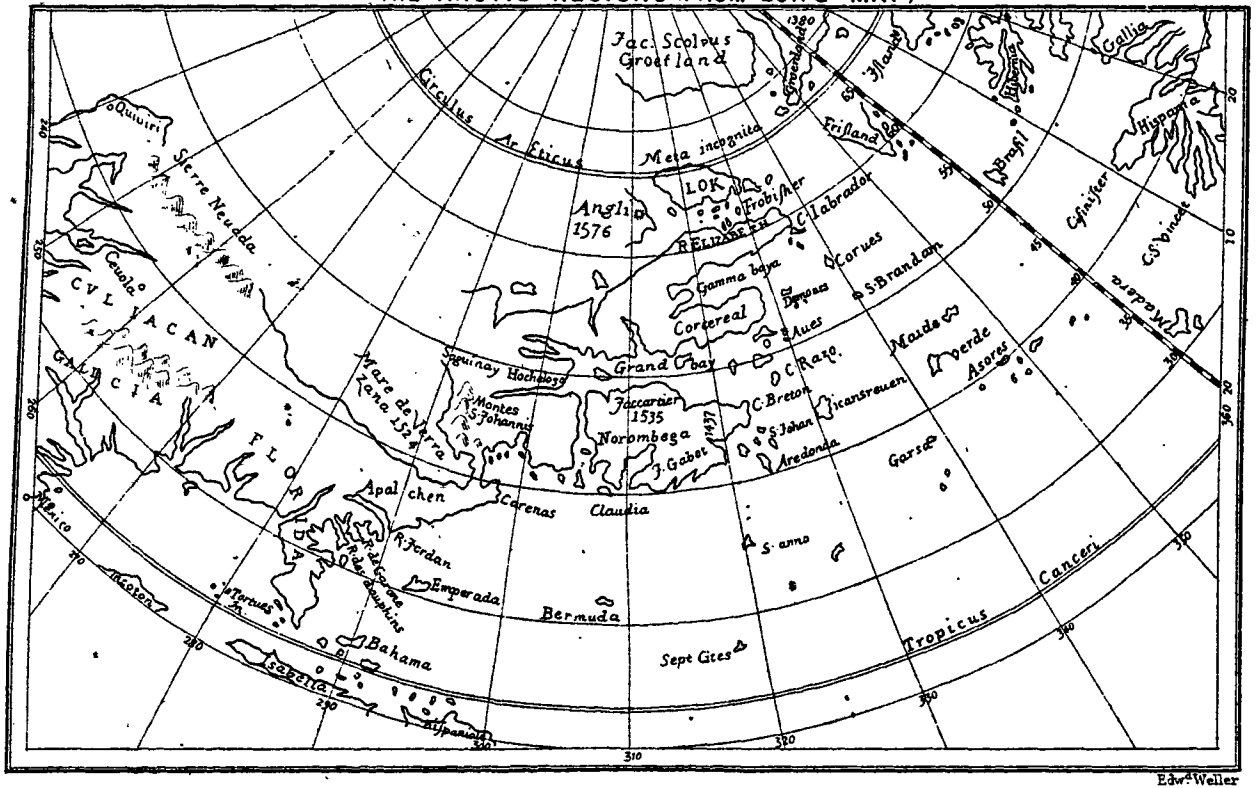
becoming his formal patrons. But they had thrown away their opportunity.

The indomitable captain turned once more to the Privy Council, and, in spite of the evil character which the Muscovy Company would give his enterprise, obtained a second letter, which was no more a recommendation, but a command requiring the Company themselves to attempt the North-West Passage, or grant a license to Martin Frobisher and others for the undertaking of the same.

During this controversy with the Company Frobisher had won over Michael Lock, their chief man, and a leading merchant of the City of London. These two now set themselves diligently to work, selling shares in the venture. Lock used his influence in the City, while the captain did the same with the nobles. After some months' toil the result was a paid-up capital of 875*l.* This was altogether insufficient for carrying out the project, and once again the heart of the great man sank. His friends at Court had not been illiberal; many of the most famous of the merchants had contributed; but it was manifest that everyone viewed his money as a gift to the cause of science, and not an investment that promised any gain. The love of money had not been enlisted, and men were loth to exchange solid gold for honour that comes only to him that is dead.

At this point in the affair, when failure seemed to be the only fruit of thirteen years of the most arduous toil—sailing the wintry sea and grappling with dangers are not so arduous to the heroic soul impatient to execute great designs as dancing attendance at the doors of patrons—Michael Lock, with a liberality worthy of lasting fame, came to Frobisher's rescue, and, in addition to the money which he had already contributed to the venture, undertook all the obligations that might be incurred over and above

THE ARCTIC REGIONS (FROM LOK'S MAP)



London: Longmans & Co.

Edwd Weller

the amount collected. Such sum proved to be almost equal to the whole of the capital then paid up, viz., 738*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*

In the meantime a year had been lost through the want of funds. Now the providing for the enterprise began, and Frobisher was happy. To work is joy and to wait torture when anything remains to be done. The autumn and winter of 1575 were spent in consultation and preparation. Ships were purchased, crews enlisted, and, evening after evening, Frobisher and Lock pored over figures, plans, specifications, and contracts. At one of these conferences we learn how the two projectors met with Captain Christopher Hall, who afterwards sailed on the voyages with Frobisher; Captain Stephen Burrough, and Dr. Dee, the famous astrologer and mathematician of the time; how the charts and books and instruments which Lock had been collecting for twenty years were laid out and examined; how all their expectations were recounted, and for what purpose the enterprise was set on foot. Here Lock put aside all Frobisher's ideas, for he laboured to show how that by it great traffic of merchandise would be procured with Cathay, and this he asserted was his chief object. Moreover, granting that the passage by the north-west should prove a failure, yet the result of Cabot's discoveries in North America abundantly testified that all the coast along Labrador would yield a lucrative trade in furs, hides, wax, tallow, oil, &c.

Dr. Dee had been brought there that evening to be convinced, for his opinion seems to have been highly esteemed on all matters touching cosmography. He was convinced, and in consequence gave valuable aid to the expedition, for he went down to the docks and spent all the spring of 1576 on board the ships, instructing the masters, mates, and boatswains in geometry, geography,

and the use of instruments. Besides, he gave the mariners many wise suggestions as to how they should proceed in the case of accidents and in narrow straits of fortune. Sir Humphrey Gilbert also gave them the results of all his studies, helping and advising them. Many great officers of state residing at Court (then held at Greenwich) came on board, counselling and encouraging.

CHAPTER V.

The fifteen years' undaunted labours were at last about to bear fruit. By the time the spring of the year 1576 opened, the ships of the expedition were anchored at Blackwall, ready to drop down the river with the first tide.

Accustomed as we are to steamers whose measurement is reckoned by thousands of tons, it creates a startling sensation akin to horror to be told what was the burthen of Frobisher's vessels. That brave hearts should have been allowed by England's niggardliness to sail in such 'cockleshells' among Arctic seas, buffeting with tempests and fields of ice, tempts one to condemn his forefathers while admiring the courage of those who were so reckless of life for honour and country.

The two ships or barks lying at anchor opposite Ratcliffe were named the 'Gabriel' and the 'Michael.' Papists named their ships after saints, the Virgin, the Trinity. The Protestants took the archangels. The measurements of the ships are given, variously ranging, the 'Gabriel' from fifteen to twenty tons, and the 'Michael' from twenty to twenty-five tons. Attached to them was a pinnace, given as from seven to ten tons, which

was for employment in the examination of new coasts, and to go in advance as a pioneer when sailing along intricate channels or among any other of the various dangers incident to passing along uncharted shores. The aggregate of the crews, officers, men, and boys, was thirty-five. An extract from the account of the cost of the voyage may be of assistance in realising the meaning of these facts:—

	li.		
For the hull of the new shipp Gabriel	83	0	0
For the new pynnasse of vij ton	20	0	0
For the shippe Michael, with old takle and furnyture .	120	0	0
For new takling and rigging them all	229	16	10

Of this Lilliputian fleet Martin Frobisher was appointed admiral and pilot. Christopher Hall was master of the 'Gabriel,' and Owen Gryffyn master of the 'Michael.' The latter was an unfortunate appointment. He was, as his name signifies, a Welshman, and exhibited the national characteristics of zeal without perseverance.

On June 7 they set sail from Blackwall 'in the name of God' and departed. But they had not advanced on their way beyond Deptford when the pinnace came into collision with a ship sailing up the river, in which she lost her bowsprit and foresail. The damage having been repaired by the following day, they sailed as far as Greenwich. The Queen and her Court were there, so the little fleet came to anchor opposite the palace and fired off their cannon, making the best show they could. The display was of a very humble kind; for we must bear in mind that the largest of the ships would hardly be considered a fishing smack in our day, and lay so low in the water that a man standing in a boat alongside would have his head and shoulders level with her deck.

During this display on board the fleet the Queen was standing at an open window of the palace, waving her hand at her adventurous subjects in token of encourage-

ment and farewell. Presently a messenger from Her Majesty came on board to say that she had 'good liking of their doings,' and to invite the admiral to visit the Court next day, that he might take his leave of her. Perhaps the sagacious woman, perceiving what manner of craft they had for braving so many dangers, thought if she would ever set eyes on the captain this was her last opportunity. The same evening came one of the Queen's secretaries and, in the name of Her Majesty, charged the crews to be obedient to their officers and to be diligent in all things, and that their sovereign wished them 'happy success.'

Thus Queen Elizabeth used to honour her people, though unknown and as yet untried in great matters. She recognised great and daring spirits; and at only the cost of a smile, a wave of the hand, a word of commendation and good wishes sent them forth to brave all the terrors of unploughed seas, feeling that they had been compensated for all their sufferings.

From Gravesend Frobisher sailed northwards along the German Ocean on June 12. Before leaving the mouth of the river, he had taken an observation and found the variation of the needle to be eleven degrees and a half. The apparent waywardness of the magnet was a subject that greatly interested the scientific mind of the captain, who seems to have held regarding this phenomenon that the only sure way of obtaining a rule was by observation at each point, inasmuch as the mystery passed the reach of natural philosophy.

Opposite Harwich they met with violent contrary winds, and were compelled to run into the harbour for refuge. A first attempt to put to sea was unsuccessful; a second attempt met with the same fate; a third attempt, and they were again driven back by the violence of the

tempest. The sailors brought to mind that the day of their departure from Deptford was Friday; that day of evil omen throughout all Christendom; and some were so far wrought upon by their superstitions as to prognosticate nothing but disaster to the expedition. They found enough before their return to justify their prophesyings.

On June 18, the wind having shifted, the admiral successfully got his fleet to sea, and arrived off the Shetlands in eight days. During the day previous to their arrival a fresh gale had been blowing from the north-west. The 'Gabriel' had been much strained in this gale, and in consequence troubled with a leak. Many hours were spent coasting in search of a roadstead wherein to repair damage and take in a supply of fresh water. The Sound of St. Tronion offered such a refuge, and here they anchored. Having succeeded according to their desires, they departed in the afternoon with a strong favourable breeze, which enabled them to make as much as a league and a half an hour, a rate of speed which the master of the 'Gabriel' considered very good, and worth mentioning. Their ships were not clipper-built.

This favourable breeze increased in power day by day, and on the last of June had grown to be a furious storm blowing from the south. For nine days and nights the barks drifted under bare poles towards the north, and on the last night of the storm the pinnace was lost sight of. It was a great blow to the expedition. She was the pilot for dangerous waters and searching the line of new coasts. They sought for her in vain. And thus four men out of the thirty-five perished.

CHAPTER VI.

ALL hope of finding the little pinnace had been abandoned before the gale had altogether passed; so they put on sail as soon as the weather permitted and shaped their course to the north-west; but the 'Gabriel' was sailing alone. It was now perceived that the 'Michael' had also disappeared. For their own sake and for the honour of their country it would have been better had Owen Gryffyn and his men shared the fate of the pinnace. Death is not the greatest calamity that can befall a man. There are worse things than death, and one of them is dishonour. The 'Michael' had deserted. This stormy clime and icy sea had affected their weak spirits. 'They mistrusted the matter,' they said afterwards. The love of novelty and the pleasure of being counted valiant men had made as fair a show as courage and honour while they were on the smooth waters of the Thames and free from danger. But when they came to sail unknown seas after a man who, they knew, would prefer the ships should be sunk to the bottom or locked in everlasting ice to returning home without accomplishing his purpose, then their hearts failed them. On their return to London, in the beginning of September, they told an apparently fair story. But the fruits of their treachery began already to ripen. No one believed what they said. Their story was that during a terrible storm first the pinnace went down, and then the 'Gabriel,' with Captain Frobisher on board. Being thus left to their own devices, Gryffyn called together his men and advised with them as to what was best to do. The determination of this conference, according to their account,

was, that inasmuch as they had nearly the whole summer before them, and could not be far from the coast of Labrador, which Cabot had sailed along, and inasmuch as their commissions were in that direction, why—they would perform their duty as best they could and go forward in the path of discovery. This resolution, if ever made, was another instance to prove that Gryffyn's nature was unstable as the sea on which he sailed; was brave in words and good intentions now that the gale had passed, but would prove unequal to carrying them into effect should any peril intervene. To the performance of duty courage is as necessary as integrity.

After this council (so their story ran) they sailed westwards for four days, when they came in sight of the coast of Labrador, but found it so compassed with monstrous high islands of ice, floating with resistless force before the wind, that they durst not draw near with their ship nor even land with their boat.

If this four days' run westward really took place the land which they saw was Greenland. At any rate, and according to their own account, their next proceeding again proved them unequal to the task of discovering new lands, and that the courage which possessed them while resolving did not survive long enough to see the execution. The next day, after sighting the new land, in 'great discomfort,' as they said, they cast their ship about and set her course back again to London, hoping doubtless that Frobisher had either reached that port before them or found rest in the ocean's depths, from whence he could not come to accuse them, at least in this world. And so Owen Gryffyn passes out of history.

The expedition was now reduced to one bark of from fifteen to twenty tons burthen, having eighteen men on

board, officers, gentlemen, mariners, and boys. After three days' sail the 'Gabriel' came in sight of Greenland.[1]

Frobisher did not commit the mistake of supposing it to be any part of the American continent. The admiral having ordered a boat to be lowered, entered it and was rowed in shore by four of his men; but the ice lay so thick along the land that they failed to carry out their intention, and after many vain attempts to find a landing-place returned on board. They were lying several leagues north of Cape Farewell, on the eastern coast. And now, to their great surprise, a thick fog suddenly enveloped them. The icebergs were beginning to drift down from the Arctic regions, and the little ship was in great danger of being crushed by them.

But they had no sooner shaped their course southwards to double the lower extremity of Greenland than a furious gale sprang up, and driving them down among the icebergs, the expedition was nearer being brought to a close than at any time in the fifteen years during which Frobisher had toiled at it. The 'Gabriel' was open at the waist, and lay so low in the water that in our day she would have been prevented by Act of Parliament from sailing even upon a coasting voyage. The storm came upon them so suddenly that the bark was thrown on her beam-ends, and the water rushing in at the open waist rapidly filled her. It was found impossible to steer her or get her head before the wind. The ship, lying in the trough of the sea, began to settle. All on board were standing at their wits' end and despairing of life. But at this juncture Frobisher came on deck, and, seeing their state, he ran along the channels as the ship lay on her side and cast off the

[1] It is assumed throughout that the Island of Frieseland mentioned in the Chronicles was identical with the southern part of Greenland. The latitude given is decisive of the question.

weather-leech of the foresails, and in consequence the foreyard broke sharp off. His next movement was to run aft, and seizing an axe he cut away the mizen-mast. As the ship rose with the next wave she partially righted. Some of the crew, seeing the success that came of the captain's actions, would have cut away the mainmast and perhaps all the rigging of the ship; but Frobisher, perceiving their design, confronted them with offer of violence; and though he stood axe in hand yet he barely restrained these small spirits from a base and ruinous imitation of the inspired action of genius. The ship now rolled heavily, but with every roll disgorged herself of the water, which in this manner flowed out of the open waist, carrying with it many things besides. Her head was at length put before the wind. But the storm still raged so violently that her mainmast was sprung the following night, and her maintop blown overboard. This damage was partially repaired next day, when the fury of the tempest had expended itself.

During this time Frobisher had been entertaining some hope of finding the 'Michael'; but when the gale had passed and the sea had been scanned in vain he concluded that she and the pinnace had both gone down.

The expedition was now reduced to a half-wrecked bark, with a mast and a half, carrying eighteen officers, men, and boys. Something like a council was held on board the 'Gabriel'; not to discuss, but that one man might exhort and command the rest. The 'great spirit and bold courage' never shone more illustriously. Dangers did not affect Frobisher in the same way they did Gryffyn; for, though the expedition had been reduced to eighteen men and a half-wrecked bark, he declared that he was as ever determined to make a sacrifice of his life unto God rather than to return home without discovering a north-west

passage to Cathay. Having thus once again made solemn declaration of his firm purpose, he set his water-logged ship, with her mast and a half, on her course towards Labrador. Crews had many times mutinied under less trying circumstances, but Frobisher's men had caught something of the spirit of their commander; and though it was obviously a matter of life and death to follow so determined a leader, yet they proceeded on the voyage with cheerfulness, willing to sink or swim in the company of so valiant a captain.

Having rounded Cape Farewell, they sailed away to the north-west, the land they were leaving behind them being 'marvellous high, and full of high ragged rocks all along the coast, and some of the islands of ice were near it of such height as the clouds hanged about the tops of them, and the birds that flew about them were out of sight.' In this last sentence the chronicler has undoubtedly indulged in a figure of speech.

CHAPTER VII.

For ten days they continued on the same course, their voyage being 'by fair and by foul.' There is great diversity of dates as to the day on which they first sighted the American coast. The log of the 'Gabriel' gives July 28, and in a matter of figures that must be correct. The morning was foggy, and the sea rough. After waiting some time the fog rose and the coast-line was clearly made out above the ice. Here again, as at Greenland, they found on sailing in towards the land, that the shore was full of high islands and mountains of ice floating and driving

with the winds and tides and streams, so they dared not attempt to draw nearer with the ship, and failed to land even with their boat.

This was the coast of Labrador; and Frobisher, remembering the white hand which had waved at the little fleet out of the palace-window at Greenwich, and which he had been privileged to kiss, named this land Elizabeth Foreland.

Their course was now ENE., sometimes sailing within mile of the shore, sometimes compelled to put five leagues out on account of the drifting ice.

On August 2, Christopher Hall, the master of the 'Gabriel,' was, as on many previous days, toiling in the ship's boat in search of an entrance through the floes to an anchorage, sounding as he passed. Being near a gigantic iceberg he diligently sought a passage for the bark in vain. And just as he had ordered the crew to pull away, the iceberg fell asunder with a noise as if a great cliff had fallen into the sea. It was a narrow escape; but those men recognised throughout that 'the marvellous work of God's great mercy' carried them through all.

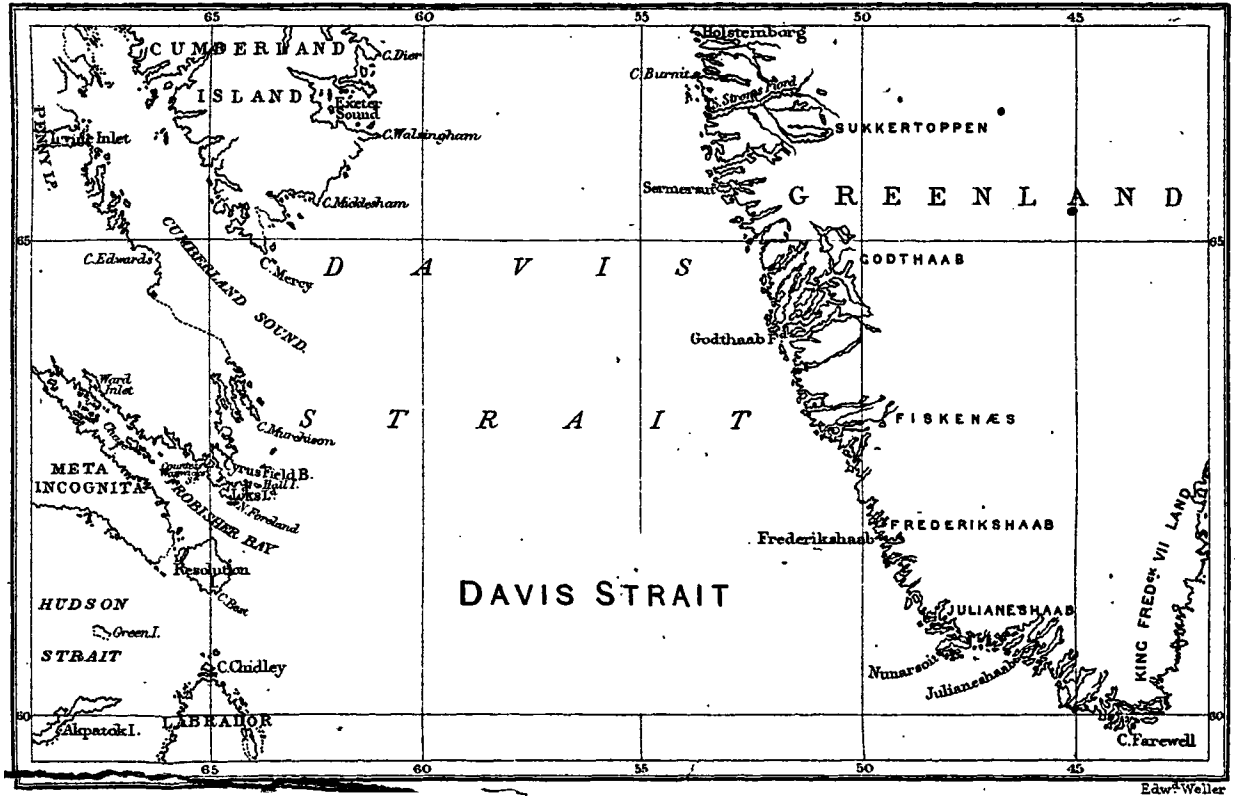
Still Hall continued his searching and sounding day by day, for the August sun was slowly overcoming even those great mountains of ice. Some days subsequently to the overturning of the iceberg the master of the 'Gabriel' attained his desire and reached an island. This was the first land they had set foot upon since leaving the Shetlands, though they had been in sight of land many days together. It was called Hall's Island, after the name of the bold mariner who had first touched there.

Frobisher appears, during these vain endeavours to approach the shore, to have entertained some doubts as to the possibility of ever finding a way for his bark through the ice. Two weeks had passed since the American coast

was first sighted. He had, therefore, commanded his company that, if by any means they should reach the shore, they were to bring to him whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it was living or dead, stock or stone, in token of Christian possession which he would thereby take in behalf of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, thinking that thus he might justify the having and enjoying of the same things that grew in those unknown parts.

So Christopher Hall, having landed on this island, and having mounted to the highest part of it, perceived that the ship was a great way off. There were also signs of coming fog. For these reasons he and his men made great haste to regain their boat and row away; but, remembering the captain's strict command, they snatched at such things as first came to hand—one took flowers, one took green grass, and one brought a piece of black stone much like seacoal in colour, which by the weight seemed to be some kind of metal or mineral. When the boat had regained the ship, Frobisher was greatly pleased to learn that they had found a landing practicable, and he took such things as they had brought, but made no account of them farther than of their novelty and of their testimony in proving that he had discovered new lands and taken possession of them in the name of the Queen. And yet that black stone, so lightly esteemed by the admiral, was to become historical. Its fate was to create an intense excitement in England, to stir up the City and the Court, and to be Frobisher's philosopher's stone.

Next day they shaped their course more to the west, and discovered that they were sailing up a channel, the land appearing on the east as well as on the west. The day after they found an anchorage, but failed to land. Another day's sail, and they again found an anchorage.



London: Longmans & Co.

Edwd Weller

This was August 14. The little bark was open from the wales upwards, and greatly needed caulking. This was now accomplished, a landing effected, and a fresh supply of water obtained.

They still continued sailing to the north-west, passing on the way many islands with good harbours. The channel seemed to stretch uninterrupted in front, and the admiral too readily yielded to the wish of his heart. This was called Frobisher's Straits, the captain bearing in mind all connected with Magellan's Straits. In the same way as the great Portuguese, and, as if by a Providential direction, he also had discovered a new highway connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; this, like the other, should be called after the discoverer, and so England should have a passage of her own, but far more direct, to Cathay. The great navigator's mind was convinced already and his heart full. So great a weight has the wish over the intellect even with the clearest brain.

Frobisher himself had not yet set his foot on land; and so, having anchored under an island which they called Butcher's Island, after the mariner who had first espied it, the captain made preparations for going ashore.

CHAPTER VIII.

In pursuance of this resolution he entered the ship's boat with eight men, Christopher Hall acting as boatswain, and rowed ashore. It was August 19, the morning fair, and the sea calm. On landing, Frobisher, having left two men in charge of the boat, with the others climbed a high mountain that rose above them. The first sight that

astonished them was 'mighty deer that seemed to be mankind,' whatever that expression might mean. But, however vague such a description is, they were very emphatic in declaring that they had to employ stratagem and woodcraft besides some force to escape from these animals.

From the summit of the island they could see the waters all around. On the eastern side far out they saw what at first they supposed to be seals or some kind of strange fish. As they drew nearer and rapidly, Frobisher made them out to be seven canoes fleeting over the waters. Being ignorant of the character of the natives, the captain and his men made use of all the speed they could command, Frobisher bearing in his hand a halberd. The natives had in the meantime outsped them. So that when the Englishmen approached the landing-place they found the Esquimaux were so drawn up as to cut off their return. Whether the natives meant war or parley Frobisher did not stop to inquire, for levelling his halberd he soon taught them how to open a way between him and his boat.

The conduct of the Englishmen under the circumstances may seem to have been dictated by too much caution for brave men; but Frobisher had only this one boat left him; the loss of it were the ruin of his plans; and out of eighteen men and boys he could not offer up one in proof of bravery.

Frobisher, having returned on board, set about devising cautiously for bringing the natives to a parley. Five men were sent in the boat, with orders to row warily towards the strangers, and to wave a white flag in token of peaceable intentions as soon as they should come in sight of them. For the bark was anchored around a headland. No sooner did the natives see the boat returning around

the point than, having recovered from their surprise at the sight of white faces and the threatening halberd, one of their large canoes advanced boldly. The Englishmen, in obedience to order, retreated. The natives, rightly interpreting the movement as evidence that the invaders were afraid of them, pursued in hot haste. Presently the point was doubled, and the bark came in full view. This new wonder took away their eagerness for the capture of the boat, so they forthwith landed.

Hall, the master, now took charge of the boat. When in sight of the savages on shore he made many signs of goodwill. The others answered in the same spirit, and would have persuaded our countrymen to land and rest themselves. Hall was bold as cautious. So he accepted their invitation and went ashore, but not out of the reach of his boat. Profuse professions of friendship were made on both sides; and the professions were perhaps then in a fair way of producing a real understanding between the white men and the red. The master of the 'Gabriel,' having gone through the routine of giving trifling presents to each of the natives, so won upon their confidence that thy agreed to a temporary exchange of hostages. Hall took his native on board, having been completely successful in his mission. Had all the Englishmen imitated the conduct of the master in their subsequent dealings with the savages it would have been better for all engaged. The happy effect of fear had thus far led a long way towards friendship.

Frobisher once more highly commended the conduct of his chief officer, and ordered that the savage should be given to taste of the ship's meat and drink and wine. With the American Indian's imperturbability he showed no pleasure or surprise. But when certain trinkets were presented him, especially a small bell, his self-command

broke down and his astonishment was great. After this he was taken back to his people, and the sailor whom they held as hostage peacefully surrendered. Frobisher had been attentively studying this new member of the human family, and displayed his keen knowledge of human nature in that he concluded the tribe to be of a kind given to fierceness and rapine. Subsequent events fully corroborated this opinion.

The savage having shown his people the Englishman's presents, and related to them the treatment he had received on board, many others came to the ship, altogether nineteen men and women. It was observed that both sexes were dressed alike in costumes of sealskin, the only difference between them being that the women had blue streaks down their cheeks and around their eyes. To these nineteen presents were given; in return for which they brought salmon and raw flesh and fish. In explanation of their manner of life they greedily devoured the same uncooked. This had an unpleasant effect upon the Englishmen, for they at once concluded that the natives were cannibals. Perhaps they were not wrong even in this conclusion. The savages also displayed great agility in climbing the ship's ropes. It was all good-will now between the mariners and the natives. A considerable traffic was established; bells, looking-glasses, and other trinkets being exchanged for coats of seal and bear-skins.

Frobisher shared in none of this confidence displayed by his men. On first seeing the savages he had begun to put his ship in a state of defence; now he redoubled his efforts in preparing for an attack; and as an additional security he moved away from his present anchorage and passed round to the east side of the island. Of his eighteen men several were worn out with toil and others laid up with sickness. Such were the events of August 19.

CHAPTER IX.

Hoping to be now free from the natives, of whom he had learned enough for the present, Frobisher, together with Christopher Hall and four men, landed for the purpose of discovery. They climbed another high mountain, from which they saw, to the south-east, the two headlands that marked the entrance into the Straits. Looking to the north-west, they saw the sea still extending to the horizon. The tides and currents, too—so the great navigator had observed—set in from that direction; and thus everything went to corroborate his conclusion that this was another Magellan's Straits.

Having enjoyed his grand day-dream for a time, gazing along the north-west passage to the Western Ocean and Cathay, he descended the mountain-side. The little band of explorers on reaching the lowlands found twelve deserted houses, which they supposed to have been work-shops where the natives had been dressing leather, trying-out seal, whale, and other oils. Doubtless they were but the winter residences of the natives, and what appeared to them to be the traces of handicraft were but the foul remains of the people's food and fuel left to cleanse themselves when the savages emerged from the cellar-like domiciles in which they had hybernated to live their brief summer in tents of skin.

Farther on the explorers, having climbed a ridge, saw, as it were under them, in the bottom of a narrow valley, three of the native wigwams or summer houses. By the tents they saw two dogs and other signs of life. Once more the great captain and his men put inglorious trust in their speed. It was for the boat, not wounds, that they cared.

The courage of the Esquimaux and their speed on the water were to be tested another time; but in fleetness of foot they were already proved inferior to the English.

Frobisher and his men had a long run for it, and regained their boat. For a moment they thought their haste thrown away, for not a native was in sight. But they had not pulled a dozen strokes before they came in view of a large canoe fully manned. It was too late for the natives. A large low-lying rock separated the two boats, and would have secured for the English a good start in the case of flight and pursuit. The savages, seeing their opportunity gone, at once betook themselves to the old signs of peace; then they would lay their hands on the sides of their heads and assume an attitude meant to be expressive of sleep. This was understood to be an invitation to come ashore and rest.

The captain was full of curiosity to see the internal arrangements of their houses and their manner of life therein; but his discretion was as keen as ever. So, employing the same gestures as themselves in token of amity, he added that he preferred they should come to visit him on board his ship. To this the natives demurred. Then Frobisher proposed an exchange of hostages. To this the others consented with a mental reservation. The savages acted as though they had been taught diplomacy by Philip II. Frobisher at once sprang ashore, and the native hostage entered the boat, which the captain commanded should be pulled out to a safe distance. The natives on shore advanced to meet their visitor in the friendliest manner, and one that seemed to be their chief took Frobisher by the hand and proceeded to lead him towards their dwellings. They had advanced but a short distance when the captain's watchful eye detected manifestations of treachery One of the natives walking

with him began to address the hostage in the boat, and made certain signs which were interpreted to mean that the latter should suddenly spring overboard and dive in towards shore. Frobisher was bearing in his hand, as a sort of combination of sceptre and weapon, a long gilded partizan or halberd. This he instantly levelled at the breast of the native, giving him very clearly to understand the fruit of treachery. Having commanded his men to have a strict care of their charge, he went on with his savage companions. He entered their houses and saw their food and manner of life, which the chronicler briefly and strongly designates as 'very strange and beastly.'

After a time Frobisher came back, the hostage was delivered up, and all was well.

The mariners continued to show such confidence in the natives as to elicit more than one caution from the captain. The traffic of trifles for sealskins was so profitable also that he was continually called upon to watch over and restrain his men.

As the boat was on the point of putting back to the ship one of the natives came forward boldly and offered to enter. The captain accepted him. On board Frobisher and the savage held such conversation as any two men could who did not understand a word of each other's language. This ended in a bargain between the two, which was to the effect that the savage should go ashore, get into his skin canoe and row in front of the bark, thus piloting her along the Straits towards the Western Sea, which he assured the captain they would reach in two days' rowing. Such at least was the Englishman's understanding of a conversation of which the words and sentences were certain movements and grimaces. For his services the savage was to receive divers gifts which were exhibited to him by the captain. The interview was then brought

to a close; and the barbarian, having received presents of a bell, knife, and cloth as an earnest of his coming rewards, was placed in the ship's boat to be taken ashore.

Frobisher was trying to make up his mind as to the extent to which he might trust his strange pilot among unknown rocks and islands. He thought it time to exhibit less fear of treachery, for he had continued this spirit almost to the verge of cowardice. In the meantime the boat was alongside, making ready to take the savage ashore. Five of his best men formed the boat's crew. And, as he looked over the ship's side, he perceived that his men were taking with them many articles intended for exchange. All his caution returned upon him, and he gave them a strict injunction to abstain from anything of the kind. To ensure obedience to the command he pointed out to the boatswain a certain rock which ran well out from the land and was in full sight of the ship, while the landing-place of the savages was farther on, around a point and hidden from view. On that rock the boatswain was to land his passenger, which being accomplished he was immediately to pull off. This order was literally obeyed as far as it went. The savage was dexterously landed on the appointed rock, and the boat went away with the returning wave. But, the next moment, Frobisher seems to have been rendered speechless by astonishment at seeing the boat swiftly rounding the point and disappearing towards the landing-place of the savages. For a few minutes the boat was lost sight of. After that time it was seen once more rowing out, with only two men. The others had landed, and thought to secure safety by imitating the captain's precaution of sending the boat out of danger. When these two had reached what they supposed a safe distance, they lay on their oars in full view of the ship, waiting while the profitable exchanges

were being made and a boat's load of sealskins got ready. There was no other boat to send either to their aid or to bring them back to punishment. The loss of the pinnace had never been felt so much as at this moment. Frobisher was standing in the chains. He saw that it was a time for action and not regrets, so he commanded his remaining men to raise a great shout, to draw the attention of the two men in the boat, who were gazing at the landing-place. In this he was successful. Then he made signs that they should instantly return for their comrades and come back to the ship. The two men at once bent to their oars, and as they drew near to the landing-place were lost to view. Frobisher stood waiting for their return in wrathful mood, devising the punishment that was meet for such breach of discipline, by which the possession of their only boat, the lives of five of the most active of his exhausted crew, and the success of the whole expedition had been endangered. But he waited in vain and devised punishments in vain. Such were the events of August 20.

CHAPTER X.

Early the next morning the 'Gabriel' stood in for the shore, and, having approached as near as they could with safety, they fired off their falconet, or cannon, carrying a pound and a half shot, over the Esquimaux village, but not with the intention of doing any damage. Then they blew a trumpet. These things were done that the lost men might know their captain was in search of them, should they be still within hearing. Nowhere did they see anything of the boat or her crew, neither did they catch

sight of any of the natives, though they were heard among the rocks close by the water, laughing and jeering. This insult so greatly enraged the captain that he instantly determined either to carry on war against them or sail away to another village of the same tribe and there capture as many natives as he might, whom he would exchange for his men. But he had no means to do either of these things. Cunning, the strength of the weak, was the only force left at his disposal.

The place where his captured crew had landed he called 'The Five Men's Sound.' That day was spent in waiting and sounding the trumpet; but, no answer having been elicited, he drew away late in the evening and anchored some distance from the shore. That night snow fell, and in the morning it was found lying on the hatches to the depth of twelve inches.

Early in the day they sailed back to 'The Five Men's Sound,' and were surprised to find that the sealskin tents had been removed. Frobisher now admitted that it appeared hopeless to recover his men or boat, and without them any further progress towards Cathay was impossible. The intended pilot who was to lead him to the ocean called Pacific in two days had, perhaps, not disappointed the admiral very greatly in not returning. The moment of giving up is anguishing to a courageous mind, yet that seemed to have come at last. To add to his mortification there came the thought that he should arrive in England without any evidence of his having ever discovered new lands. He made no account of the black stone which he had thrown aside among other unconsidered trifles, and which was to become so celebrated. Others before him had impoverished themselves to procure means for sailing unknown seas and finding undiscovered lands; had faced many dangers and put their life often in peril of savages

only to be doubted on their return and asked to furnish proofs—who were accused of having made apocryphal discoveries and seen imaginary wonders!

All this time the 'Gabriel' had been lying-to in 'The Five Men's Sound,' with her commander 'more ready to die than to live.' But hereupon a sudden danger arose, and Frobisher was restored to himself. Fourteen boats fully manned were espied paddling around a point near at hand, and advancing with the evident intention of attacking the ship. In the largest of the boats were counted twenty men. The whole of Frobisher's force, including invalids and boys, was thirteen. The admiral was more pleased than alarmed with this demonstration. Full of the 'great spirit and bold courage' of happier days, he made his arrangements for a conflict. Canvas was nailed over the old-fashioned deep channels, over the shrouds, and over every projection which the enemy might take hold of in boarding. It must be borne in mind that the ship lay so low that a native could spring out of his canoe on board with the help of a hand-hold. In the waist of the bark he placed his falconet. Frobisher's mind was filled with the happy idea that he need not go in search of some distant village to make captives, for the village was now coming to him. With a view to carrying out his design, he pointed the falconet at the boat which held twenty men, resolved at the first attack to send a shot through her, and then, while her men were struggling in the water, to run the ship among them and make captive of as many as he found alive. But the natives had obtained a fair idea of the destructive power of the falconet on the previous day, when the piece was fired over their village. So now a ludicrous feature was introduced into the affair. Wherever the falconet was pointed, from that place the canoes paddled away in haste;

and thus the fourteen boats were slowly swept back along with that silent threatening muzzle moving from side to side. All the men of the 'Gabriel' had during this time been mustered at the open waist. The enemy's boats had drawn out of range and were gathered in council. Although not a shot had been fired, Frobisher feared they had been so alarmed by his little cannon that they would draw entirely away, and thus the opportunity of capturing hostages would be lost. To give the natives courage, he commanded his men to move the falconet and betake themselves to other parts of the ship. Standing alone at the open waist, but with his arms laid ready to hand, he made the old signs of parley. The enemy answered; and thinking that the English must be entirely devoid either of common sense or the spirit of retaliation, sent one of their number in a small skin canoe to hold conversation at closer quarters. This savage went through the usual pantomime in inviting the Englishmen ashore. He was the native who had come on board with Christopher Hall on his first interview with the savages. Frobisher was more profuse than ever in his manifestations of amity. But it was all duplicity on both sides now. The captain held out various presents for him, but the savage would not come within reach. Frobisher then threw over such things as would float, shirts, cloths, &c. These, being carried away by the current, were eagerly pursued and caught by more than one of the boats. This game was continued until the cupidity of the messenger of the natives was so inflamed that when Frobisher held a small bell in his hand he, heedlessly or with strange self-confidence, paddled up to the ship's side to receive it. But just as success was about to crown the captain's cunning the zeal of a shallow mind that meddled without understanding ruined all. For as the savage was reaching out

his hand for the bell one of the crew of the 'Gabriel' sprang forward, holding a boathook, with which he hoped to secure the canoe. The native was much too quick for such a clumsy device. Instantly dipping his paddle in the water, he lightly skimmed away.

The whole process of exciting the man's greed had to be gone through afresh. Presents were again set afloat, again chased and caught. And when Frobisher the second time offered the bell the savage was not won. But the captain was equal to the emergency. If the Esquimaux would not come nearer, the captain would throw it to him. The savage at once made ready to catch. The bell was thrown so as to fall just short of the native's hands, and so dropped into the sea and was lost. Frobisher forthwith called for another and a larger bell, which he provokingly began to ring, by turns stretching it out towards the canoe. The poor savage, however cunning, was quite carried away by this. Life was worth not so much to him now. Sitting as he was in his skin canoe, in which he was to a certain extent fastened, inasmuch as the opening fitted closely around his waist, he allowed himself to drift slowly towards the ship. As he came alongside he held his paddle in his right hand with the end placed against the side of the 'Gabriel,' so that at the first suspicion of treachery he had but to give it a thrust and the canoe would shoot away. The other hand he held forth to receive the proffered bell. Frobisher stooped towards him, and just as their hands were on the point of meeting the captain let the bell drop, suddenly took hold of the outstretched hand of the savage with his right and of the wrist with his left, then stepping back lifted him boat and paddle on to the deck of the bark. This feat of physical strength greatly astonished his own men as well as the savages, who were all within bowshot of the 'Gabriel'; to

whom Frobisher now made signs that if they would bring his men he would return their comrade; but they quickly rowed out of range, and having consulted together, made for the land with all haste, uttering a war-whoop, or, as the chronicler says, 'with great hallooing or howling shouts after their manner, like the howling of wolves or other beasts in the woods.'

CHAPTER XI.

THE captured savage, who had, like the crew of the 'Gabriel's' boat, fallen a victim to his own cupidity, was so overcome with impotent rage that he bit his tongue in twain. But that member was, under the circumstances, of little use to him and the loss of it but slight damage to the English, since all their intercourse was conducted by signs. The captive either would not or could not give any information of the lost boat and her crew. From that day on he lay moping and sulking, refusing every consolation till death touched him and bade him go free: which was soon after the return of the expedition to England.

That night, the 'Gabriel' anchored at another island near by; Frobisher expecting still that the natives would offer his five men in exchange for their captured countryman. Three more days were spent idly hoping against hope. Retreat was the only possible course, and yet Frobisher shrank from it, postponing his departure from hour to hour. At the close of those three idle days the admiral turned to his officers under the pretence of consulting them as to what had best be done. He knew their opinion well enough, for it was his own; still he preferred to have his unwilling purpose in a manner forced on his own mind.

They ran over each feature of their condition: they had no boat; many of their men were laid up with exhaustion and sickness; including all, there were but thirteen left; the brief summer was evidently on the wane, and the winter coming on apace. Should they be imprisoned in this Strait by the ice of which they already had some experience, that were an end of them and all future voyages. Besides, they were surrounded by fierce savages of whom they suspected the worst designs and foulest practices. And as for proofs they had this infidel and his boat, the like of which was never seen, read, nor heard of before in England, and whose language was neither known nor understood of any. Therefore there could only be one opinion as to the necessity of immediately returning.

On August 26, Frobisher commanded the 'Gabriel's' head to be put to the south-east. By noon they had proceeded as far as Trumpet's Island; the next day they passed Gabriel's Island—names that have long ago lost their place on the maps. At nightfall they were sailing outward between the headlands that formed the entrance to Frobisher's Straits.

On September 1, they once more came in sight of Greenland, and, as on their first approach, found the land so surrounded by monstrous ice that they dared not draw near.

Still following their outward track, they fared prosperously until the 7th, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm. So furious was the wind that one of the mariners was blown out of the ship's waist. The next moment the 'Gabriel' rolled in his direction, and the man made a sudden snatch, catching hold of the foresail sheet. Frobisher had seen the accident, and was instantly on the spot. Stretching forth his hand he laid hold of the man struggling with the waves and lifted him bodily into the ship.

On the 25th they passed the Orkneys. On October 1

they sighted Zeeland, and crossed over to Harwich the next day. Here they remained for a few days to refresh their crew, who were all quite exhausted.

On October 9, 1576, they returned to London, having been absent just four months. Frobisher had sailed farther to the north-west than any of his predecessors. John Cabot had been farther up the channel now known by the name of Davis's Straits; but, except touching at some point which he called 'The Desired Land,' he had added nothing to the world's knowledge of that region.

The 'Michael's' report had been believed so far as the loss of the pinnace and 'Gabriel' was concerned. So the surprise and welcome were all the greater when they anchored in the Thames. They became the admiration of the people; while the strange man and his strange leathern boat were the wonder of all the city that saw them and of the whole realm that heard of them, all men agreeing that so great a matter had not happened within any one's knowledge.

CHAPTER XII.

The poor infidel, who on his loss of liberty had bitten off his own tongue, did not long live the wonder of England. He had taken a cold on the voyage, to which he gradually succumbed.

Very little had been accomplished by the voyage towards discovering a north-west passage to Cathay. Frobisher was satisfied, and so perhaps was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, that the discovered strait was the Passage. But these two were convinced before the expedition set out.

A disappointment that affected the future much more

seriously was the fact that no riches had been found, and no profit returned to the capitalists. To have brought back the plunder of a Mexican village would have secured the captain more ships to come than to have brought back a correct map of all the Polar regions.

The interesting infidel was buried. His paddle and 'leathern boat' were the only curious relics left of the voyage. And having received his welcome from the nation, Frobisher was passing into oblivion; men's minds being turned to the latest battle in that lifelong struggle between Protestantism and the Papacy which was being fought out in the swamps of Holland, and in which so many brave Englishmen were engaged.

But Frobisher's star had only passed behind a cloud, not below the horizon, and was soon to shine more brilliantly than ever. Some would say that an accident made the admiral famous, but it was an accident brought about by himself, and which he had fitted himself by study and experience to be ready for.

In the course of three months or so after the return of the 'Gabriel,' and when the diminutive ship's famous achievements were falling out of mind, a rumour went abroad that among some unconsidered lumber brought home in the ship's hold was found a lump of gold ore. This was the 'black stone much like to seacoal in colour.' The popular account of the discovery of its nature was as follows:—By chance a piece of the stone came into the hands of a gentlewoman, the wife of one of the adventurers in the expedition; by chance she threw it into the fire, where it remained until it was red-hot; and by another chance she took it out of the fire and quenched it in vinegar, whereupon it 'glistered with a bright marquesset of gold.' So many happy accidents following one another in intelligent order throw such a complexion of doubt over the account

that names and dates should have been furnished. This is not done.

Michael Lock, who was Frobisher's chief supporter, and more deeply interested than any other in wringing profit out of the expedition, gives a totally different account. As soon as the 'Gabriel' returned, he says, he went on board, and the admiral at once referred to a promise which he had made the merchant on his departure, namely, that he would give him the first thing that was found in the new land; and in fulfilment of that promise he thereupon handed him a black stone. This was in the presence of others who had gone on board with him, several of whom begged small pieces of the stone out of curiosity. Lock spent about a month considering of the matter, and by an *à priori* course of reasoning came to the conclusion that it contained gold; whereupon he took a piece of it to the Assay Master of the Tower, with what expectation is obvious. That officer having made an assay, returned it as marcasite, a variety of iron pyrites. The merchant showing dissatisfaction at this information, the Assay Master advised him to try another assayer, naming one Wheeler as expert in the art. This advice was followed. Wheeler also returned it as marcasite. A man self-convinced is not easily to be convicted of error even by science. Lock next tried one George Needam, and the result of his proof was that the stone contained none of the precious metals.

At this point of his pursuit the merchant rested for awhile. But his mind was not at rest. Every time he went over his *à priori* process he became more and more assured that there must be gold in the black stone. In the beginning of January of the following year he heard of a very learned and skilful Italian assayer, John Baptista Agnello by name. To him Lock made haste to take a piece of the stone. He said nothing to the assayer as to

whence the stone came or what it was suspected to contain. The wily Italian may have had other sources of information or gleaned all he wanted to know from the eager merchant in those subtle ways practised by professors of palmistry. At any rate Agnello took the piece of stone, and at the end of three days showed Lock what he had found in it. This was a 'little powder of gold.' Lock at once demanded evidence of the correctness of this return, pretending to doubt the truth of what he had determined should be the truth. Agnello replied that he would try again for the other's greater satisfaction. Fragment after fragment of the black stone was received by him, and each time he exhibited as the result of his smeltings, retortions, and triturations a 'little powder of gold.' Lock now asked the pertinent question how he came to find gold where other assayers had found no trace of the precious metals. His reply was—'Bisogna sapere adulare la natura.' (One must needs know how to coax nature.)

It seems that this account was prepared for the Queen, who desired to know the whole story of the black stone, that was being talked of by high and low.

There is to be found in one of Sir Philip Sidney's letters to a friend on the Continent proof of the extent and magnificence of the popular belief in the ore. He writes that Frobisher had been to America rivalling the achievement of Magellan; and that there a young man of the ship's company 'picked up a piece of earth he saw glittering on the ground and showed it to Frobisher; but he being busy with other matters, and not believing that the precious metals were produced in a region so far to the north, considered it of no value. But the young man kept the earth by him, as a memorial of his labour, till his return to London. And there, when one of his friends saw it shining in an extraordinary manner, he tested it, and found that it was the purest gold, unalloyed with any other metals.'

The remark of an old chronicler was, 'Such great quantity of gold appeared that some letted not to give out for certainty that Solomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded his Temple.'

Thus the gold ore had grown to be the one engrossing topic of the whole realm. A general demand was made for a renewal of the expedition to Hall's Island. The search for Cathay became a secondary matter. For why go to the far East, they reasoned, in search of what could be found so much nearer home? Perhaps no man in England was more astonished at the result of his voyage than Frobisher himself. He went to Lock and asked was there any truth in this extraordinary rumour of gold having been brought home by the expedition. The answer was convincing: Lock placed before him the gold-dust extracted by the art of Agnello.

To collect the means for undertaking the expedition to the North-West, Frobisher had toiled, suffered, endured the cold approval of friends, the condescensions of the great, the sneers of the 'practical,' year after year—and now all was changed. He waited to be sought. Science and discovery had been superseded. The lust for gold dominated men's hearts for the moment. Nobles and merchants who had been unwilling to sow silver or even copper to reap science came forward ready to sow gold in the hope of reaping more gold.

CHAPTER XIII.

THERE were rumours floating in the air that secret expeditions were being set on foot to plunder the gold-mines in the North-West. The assayers of London were general

suspected of such a design, and none knew better than they the value of the ore. It was generally credited that they had gone privately to Her Majesty to procure a lease of all the shores and islands in Frobisher's Straits. To such a pitch had the public excitement risen.

The actual outcome of the matter was the establishment of a company called the Cathay Company, the charter for which was obtained from the Crown on March 17, 1577. It was granted to Michael Lock and Martin Frobisher, together with all the venturers in the first voyage. To them was given the sole right of sailing in every direction for discovery, except to the East; the rights of the Muscovy Company being thus protected. They had authority to wage war in behalf of their own interests, and were to pay only half customs for the first twenty years on all goods imported. Whoever infringed the privileges of the Company was to suffer forfeiture of ships and goods, one half of the fine going to the Queen, the other to the Company.

The charter appointed Michael Lock governor for life, and gave him one per cent. of all goods imported. To these terms the shareholders agreed, except that they limited the appointment to six years.

The charter appointed Martin Frobisher for life the High Admiral of all seas and waters, countries, lands, and isles, as well of Cathay as of all other countries and places of new discovery—a sort of admiral *in partibus infidelium*. He also was to receive one per cent. of all imported goods. To this the Company agreed, adding an annual stipend, and appointing him general captain of their ships and navy.[1]

Inasmuch as there had been a loss to the venturers in

[1] The chroniclers are followed in referring to Frobisher as Admiral and General, designations applied indiscriminately to the chief commander of a fleet in that age.

the first voyage of 800*l.*, every new member admitted was to pay a fine or admission fee of 30*l.*, which was to be applied towards the liquidation of this debt.

Such were the main provisions of the charter and articles of the Company of Cathay. Many new shares were taken. The Queen herself subscribed 1,000*l.*, which was more than the whole amount collected for the first voyage. In a short time the paid-up capital was 3,000*l.* Lock had formed his estimates for 4,400*l.*, and he soon obtained the 1,400*l.* that lacked by assessments on the shareholders.

In addition to the 'Gabriel' and 'Michael' there was a third ship, lent by the Queen, of two hundred tons burthen, and named the 'Aid.' Between March and May the preparations were pushed forward vigorously. The expedition was to be provisioned for seven months, and was to number about 115 souls. Among the estimates sent in as to the price and quantity of the provisions necessary for the voyage are some items curious in our day. The beer required weighed more than all the bread, meat, peas, and rice. The wine weighed nearly as much as the cheese and butter. Of course there is no mention made of tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, or spirituous liquors. The sum allowed for furnishing the medicine chest was 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The only other provision for the sick was the expenditure of 4*l.* for prunes, raisins, almonds, liquorice, etc. A liberal allowance was made for woollen cloth for jerkins, etc.

The expedition was furnished besides with a long code of instructions, numbering in all sixteen items, addressed to 'Martin Frobisher, Gent.,' from Her Majesty the Queen. The admiral was to take with him not more than 120 persons, of whom thirty were to be miners, refiners, &c. He was not to receive into his company any disordered persons; yet there should be delivered to him six condemned criminals, whom he was to take to Greenland, and there set ashore, with such weapons and victuals as could be

spared; whom he was also to instruct to so conduct themselves as to win the goodwill of the natives, and with whom, on the return voyage, he was to speak, that he might be informed of what they had learned of the land. His immediate destination was to be Hall's Island, where he would land the miners, and leave the 'Aid' in a safe harbour, to be loaded by them with the gold ore. After that he was to take the two barks and proceed to 'The Five Men's Sound,' examining the coasts and islands, chiefly with the view of discovering the richest mine in those parts; and should he succeed in finding better ore than that on Hall's Island, he was to return thither for the 'Aid' and the miners. Otherwise, and failing to recover his lost men, he might continue westward until he became certain that he had entered the South Sea, but no farther. In no case was he to permit his zeal for science to delay the return of the 'Gabriel' and 'Michael,' but was to be sure to rejoin the 'Aid' in time for her to return with the cargo of ore before the winter set in. In case the mines should yield no more ore, the 'Aid' was immediately to be sent home, and the admiral was at liberty to do what he liked and go where he liked with his two barks. The Queen's object in subscribing a thousand pounds and lending a ship is painfully obvious. Frobisher was to consider the feasibility of leaving some of his men to winter on the Straits. He was to be rather over-cautious of his life than otherwise: an unnecessary injunction. He was to be strict in his discipline: again unnecessary, for in that quality Frobisher was the Queen's equal. He was to give no offence to the aborigines, and to do all in his power to win their friendship. Nevertheless he was to bring back with him not less than three nor more than ten captive natives, whom Her Majesty minded should not return again to their own land. He was to give very

strict commands to the miners and others handling the ore that they should observe the strictest secrecy concerning the richness of the mines.

Thus the expedition was transformed from a voyage of discovery into something very like a gambling venture, entered into by the Crown, the nobility, and the merchants.

CHAPTER XIV.

On May 25, 1577, Frobisher took formal command of the expedition, which was composed as follows:—

The 'Aid,' between 175 and 200 tons burthen, having on board 100 souls, among whom were the admiral, his lieutenant, George Best, and thirty gentlemen and soldiers. Christopher Hall was the master.

The 'Gabriel,' between 15 and 25 tons burthen, carrying eighteen persons, under the command of Captain Edward Fenton, the master being William Smyth.

The 'Michael,' between 20 and 25 tons, carrying sixteen persons, commanded by Gilbert Yorke, with James Beare as master.

There were, besides, the ships' boats and two rowing pinnaces carried on board.

On Whit-Sunday, the 26th, they weighed anchor early in the morning, and ran down with that tide from Blackwall to Gravesend. Next morning the vicar came on board the 'Aid,' on which all the men of the expedition were assembled, and administered to them the Communion, thus preparing them 'as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes.' In this way used England's great navigators to set forth, putting their trust in that

God who 'is as near on sea as on land.' They prepared themselves for either fortune.

On Tuesday evening they arrived at Harwich, where they had certain provisions to take on board, which delayed them until the Friday of the same week. The Queen was at that moment the guest of the Earl of Warwick, in Essex, and her extraordinary mastery of details disturbed the expedition slightly, and at the same time taught Frobisher a lesson. He had to do with a monarch whom nothing escaped. It had come to Elizabeth's quick ears that Frobisher had taken in his company more than the 120 which in Her Majesty's instructions he had been forbidden to exceed. During this delay at Harwich a sharp letter arrived from the Queen bidding the admiral not to go beyond his complement. Frobisher avenged himself upon the country for the Queen's sharp meddling, for among the fourteen whom he was compelled to put on shore were the condemned criminals whom he was to have landed on the coast of Greenland. There is a probability that he had intended employing them as messengers and hostages in his dealings with the savages, and, should any be left alive after that hazardous service, with them to test the practicability of wintering within the Straits.

On the last day of May the fleet put to sea. On June 7 they came to one of the Orkneys for fresh water. While this was being taken on board Frobisher gave leave to the gentlemen and soldiers to go ashore for recreation. They told a sad tale of the condition of the inhabitants. As soon as they landed, they said, the natives fled from their cottages, raising at the same time a cry of alarm to warn their neighbours. The lieutenant, bidding his men hold back, advanced alone, making known who and what they were that came to their island. So he won the people to return; and they then explained their alarm and

flight, saying that pirates and other enemies often landed and attacked them. They lived in very primitive style. Their houses had no chimneys. The fire was lighted in the middle of the floor, and a hole was left in the roof for the escape of the smoke. On one side of the cottage ate and slept the good man, wife, and children; on the other the cattle. The tax-collector seems to have been the only connecting link between them and their Government.

A little traffic was carried on, and the gold-finders discovered a mine of silver. In minerals, as in philosophy, men for the most part find what they are in search of. Perhaps they would have considered it contrary to their commission to find gold anywhere short of Hall's Island.

Next morning, having set their course WNW., they took their departure. For twenty-six days they beat to and fro against contrary winds, observing many things that were new to some of them. There were monstrous fish which they did not recognise. Sea-fowl were seen every day, and, being so far out to sea, it was concluded that they alternated their movements between the air and water, never setting foot on land. Three sail of English fishermen returning from Iceland were spoken, and letters sent home by them. All along this sea large fir-trees were seen floating and drifting to the north-east, from which they concluded a great current set in that direction from the south-west. Night seemed to have given place to a bright kind of twilight, by which they could read easily.

At length, as they said, God favoured them with a fair wind in the poop, and, on July 4, the 'Michael,' being in advance, fired off a piece of ordnance to announce that land had been sighted. The general, wishing to make sure, sent his trusted companion of the year before on board the 'Michael.' The experienced eye of Christopher

Hall at once saw that they had mistaken the fog and icebergs for land. Nevertheless there were many indications that the coast of Greenland was very near; and so, advancing with great caution, and the fog lifting, they made out the land about ten o'clock of the luminous night.

The ice, the fogs, the blasts were so much like what they had encountered here the year before that one might suppose no change had taken place in the interval. One of the voyagers, who was now getting his first experience of Northern latitudes, indulges in a florid description, evidently elaborated with some care. 'Here,' he says, 'in place of odoriferous and fragrant smells of sweet gums and pleasant notes of musical birds, which other countries in more temperate zones do yield, we tasted the most boisterous boreal blasts mixed with snow and hail.'

On this approach Frobisher spent three days in the ship's boat trying to make a landing in Greenland, but with the same unsuccessful result as before. Once or twice he touched the land after passing up dangerous and intricate passages among the ice; but, each time, just as he was about to go ashore, the fog descended, compelling him to put back to his ship with the greatest haste.

CHAPTER XV.

THE attempt to land having finally been given up, they resumed their voyage on July 8. Two or three days afterwards, the 'Michael' suffered almost in the same way as the 'Gabriel' had the previous year in that sea. A

great storm descended, and in the first breaking carried away the ship's steerage. Presently her top-masts were carried overboard. In the meantime they had lost sight of the 'Aid' and 'Gabriel,' and had to look to themselves. The gale was blowing from the north-east, and the 'Michael' had thus far been kept before the wind. At length, estimating that they were within fifty leagues of the American coast, on which they feared to be cast, and the sea every moment threatening to poop her, they hove-to under bare poles, and so rode out the storm, though in a very damaged condition. On the 17th, to their great joy, they came on the other ships.

When Frobisher was enlisting volunteers for this expedition there was one man who fell dangerously ill before the departure from Blackwall. Many tried to dissuade him from attempting the voyage, but he ever answered that he chose rather to die therein than not to attempt so notable a voyage. It seems to have been only a sample of the spirit that pervaded them all. At any rate his resolution met with the commander's approval, and the sad alternative hinted at came to pass during the continuance of these storms—the daring spirit fled, and the remains of the first Englishman were lowered into the depths of the North-West Seas, pioneer of a great and brave company.

Soon after the ships were reunited they saw evident tokens that they were drawing near the Straits. Next morning Frobisher sighted the land from the maintop of the 'Aid,' and immediately sent the barks in different directions to search for the North and South Forelands. About noon the 'Michael' clearly made out Hall's Island lying near the northern headland. To one of the chroniclers who was on board the bark at this time the sight of Frobisher's Straits frozen, and full of icebergs,

lepressing. It did not fit a theory which he had
d concerning the formation of icebergs. He had
ed that it was impossible for salt water to be
soned by the cold, because he had tasted of the
gs on the coast of Greenland; they were a little
ish, but contained no salt, and must have been formed
esh-water lakes or of the waters of great rivers frozen
ey came in contact with the sea. It is not quite
which he finally adopted—his theory or the fact
erning the freezing of sea-water.

On their arrival the ice was breaking up, and only
ted a wind from the north-west to drive out in archi-
goes. Until that time no harbour was open, and the
s had to lie off and on. Frobisher, to the great
iration of the gentlemen who had no knowledge of
se matters, went to and fro among the ice in a rowing
nace, darting hither and thither among floating masses
speeding through channels in the floes that opened
closed like a too deliberate monster, seeking to catch
unwary boat. Next day he took a company of gold-
ders to Hall's Island in his rowing pinnace. Chris-
pher Hall pointed out the spot where he had found the
black stone,' but there were no more of the same sort
ft. They could not find any ore at all, not even one
piece so big as a walnut.'

As far as the 'Aid' was concerned here appeared the
nd of her voyage. For did not the Queen's instructions
ommand that in case no more of the mineral could be
found she was at once to be sent back? Frobisher's
thoughts were kept to himself. On one thing he was
determined,—that he would not, without further effort,
return to the ships with this intelligence. So putting off
from Hall's Island he gratefully accepted the twilight
continuation of the day, and commanded the pinnace to

be pulled through the ice to another island that short distance westward. Here they found abunda the black stones. Other islands in the vicinity examined with the same success; and towards mid the pinnace returned to the ships, firing a volley in of good news. The admiral had brought back eggs, f and a young seal, besides intelligence that there abundance of ore on the other islands. They had seen many signs of the presence of the natives, which brought to their recollection the loss of the five men, the Queen's injunction concerning caution.

Having thus satisfied the officers of the Crown in matter of the gold mines, Frobisher turned his attentio other and more congenial objects. His first step wa take formal possession of the new land, called gener *Meta Incognita*, in the Queen's name, and proclaim sovereignty over it. So next morning, which was J 19, the admiral ordered the gentlemen and soldiers enter the boats. It was very early; the sea almost i passable on account of the ice; the distant islands wi their high mountains white with snow; and all the ski of Frobisher and Hall scarcely sufficed to escape bein crushed between the moving floes of ice. They safel arrived at and landed on an island, afterwards calle Lock's Land, and left the boats under guard. As soo as they landed the company, by command of the general knelt down in the snow and with one voice thanke God for their safe arrival. Then they marched in orde about two English miles to the summit of a mountain which, in remembrance of his first patron, Frobisher called Mount Warwick. Here they built a large cross of stones and planted on it the English flag, signifying thereby that the Christian religion and the Queen's sovereignity had been proclaimed. This accomplished, the

admiral commanded a trumpet to be sounded; and having ranged his company in a circle around the ensign, he ordered them once more to kneel. Then the general led them in prayer. First of all they besought the Divine Majesty to grant the Queen long life, in whose name they now took possession of the country. Next that He would give them grace so to conduct themselves that, by Christian study and endeavour, those barbarous people, trained up in paganism and infidelity, might be brought to the knowledge of true religion and to the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer. After that they arose from their knees, and Frobisher addressed them, employing those words and sentiments concerning duty which have never failed to find a response in the hearts of Englishmen.

They then took up the march with an ensign displayed at their head, and passed on to several lesser eminences, on each of which they heaped up a cross of stones, so that should any future navigator, either from England or other civilised lands, arrive at those parts he would at once perceive the sovereignty of a Christian power had been proclaimed.

Before the close of that day, which had begun with such solemn rites, events took place which once again illustrate the fact that with the best of men a great gulf separates theory and practice. The invaders displayed conduct that went in no way towards bringing the infidels to a knowledge of true religion.

CHAPTER XVI.

In the afternoon of the same day, as the company was marching down towards the boats, strange shrieks and cries were heard in the rear, and on looking back they perceived on a ridge, which they had crossed a little before, a number of the natives laughing and dancing for joy.

The general was anxious to come to a conference, and with that object in view made the customary signs, then held up two of his fingers, signifying that he would have two of them advance to meet two of his company. The natives responded in like manner; whereupon Frobisher, taking with him his old comrade Christopher Hall, advanced unarmed some distance in front. Two of the savages then came forward with alacrity and met them midway between the two peoples. The result was that bartering began immediately, and the established method of bargaining between hostile tribes was easily learned by the English. So nearly all that afternoon there was a busy scene. One of either side would advance midway, lay down some article which he wished to exchange, and withdraw. Then one from the other side would come forward to inspect, and, if he desired the thing, would set down beside it what he was willing to give in exchange, and then retire. The first party to the treaty now came up once more, and if pleased with the offer took up the thing, leaving his own to be possessed by the second party.

Frobisher knew the dangers attending any traffic with these barbarians, and kept a wary eye on both sides. At last, the day drawing towards the close, he commanded his men to fall in and resume their march to the boats. The natives, perceiving this movement, expressed great sorrow

at their departure, and the two spokesmen followed them confidently down to the landing-place. Frobisher having embarked his men, and seeing but these two natives, took with him Hall and went back some distance to where the two savages were making signs of sorrow over their departure. The admiral's design was to lay hold of them; and, after keeping them a few days on board, to set one of them on shore with presents, and retain the other for an interpreter, finally carrying him back to England. Though Frobisher could have pleaded the Queen's instructions in defence of his conduct, and though we are to judge men historically by comparing them with the best men and the accepted morality of their own age, still falseness has always been falseness, and doubtless none would have admitted this sooner than the general himself. It is pleasant to know that the wrong was not wholly successful or unpunished.

When these four met, some exchanges were made and presents given by the Englishmen. The infidels having exhausted their interchangeable commodities, and wishing to make some return for the gifts received, one of them cut off the tail of his own coat, deemed a great ornament by them, and presented it to the admiral. It was a poor return that he got. At this moment Frobisher gave Hall the signal that he should seize his man, while the admiral did the same with his.

The scene of the encounter was sloping ground; besides, the ice and snow made it very slippery; and so, when the Englishmen made their sudden clutch, the natives as suddenly tripped their feet from under them, and in coming down heavily they lost their hold on the savages, in spite of their great physical superiority. The Esquimaux had prepared for such an emergency, and had perhaps only been anticipated in treachery, for they had

their bows and arrows in hiding near at hand. So when the Englishmen fell on the icy hillside the savages nimbly ran for their weapons, and, showing the most desperate courage, boldly attacked the fallen. The long gilded partizan was not now to hand, as on a former occasion, so the admiral and the master of the 'Aid' ignominiously turned their backs and fled down towards the boats. Their double-dealing had brought them into sudden difficulties. The savages speedily pursued, and soon lodged an arrow in the admiral's hip. The two fugitives were making the best use of their throats as well as their legs. And fortunately the soldiers on board, hearing cries for help, jumped ashore and opened fire on the pursuers with an arquebus. The Esquimaux advanced within bowshot; and having delivered all their arrows at the boats, turned to flee. Their courage had been conspicuous, but their speed was not as great. At this turning-point of the affair one Nicholas Conyer, a servant of Lord Warwick's, who was a Cornishman, and celebrated both for wrestling and running, gave chase, and soon overtaking one of the infidels, showed him 'such a Cornish trick that he made his sides ache against the ground for a month after, yea, even to the day of his death.' Thus one of the natives was taken alive, but the other escaped.

By this time a violent storm was blowing from the north-west. The impossibility of regaining the ships during its continuance was obvious. The impossibility of remaining where they were after what had taken place that afternoon was equally clear. It was now some time of the night, yet they determined to try their fortune among the ice, and after many escapes succeeded in getting under the lee of a small island about a mile distant from the scene of the late encounter. Here they would have eaten the provisions they had brought with

them for the day's dinner, for they had partaken of no food during that long Arctic day. But Frobisher pointed out to them that inasmuch as the wind was from the north-west, and all the ice in the Straits was driving out, the ships must put far out to sea, and might not be seen again for days. He therefore divided their narrow supplies into several rations, though the whole had only been intended for one meal. They knew full well, says one who was of the company, crouching among the rocks and ice that tempestuous night, that the best cheer the country could yield them was golden rocks and stones—a hard food to live withal—and the people more ready to eat them than to give them wherewithal to eat. Having in this antithetical sentence expressed the general belief in the cannibalism of the Esquimaux, he adds that they had to keep very good watch and ward over the boats to keep them from being crushed by the grinding islands of ice; the gentlemen of the company having landed, lying upon hard cliffs of ice and snow, both cold, wet, and comfortless. They had been rowing, marching, trafficking and performing solemn rites for over twenty hours.

CHAPTER XVII.

MANY things happened on board during the general's absence. Within an hour of his departure in the morning the cook overheated a chimney which had been very dangerously constructed, and the 'Aid' was set on fire. And had it not been for the fortunate chance of a boy discerning it at an early stage, and, as the chronicler adds, God's help, the ship would soon have been en-

veloped in flames. As it was, the work of extinguishing the fire employed them for some hours.

As soon as this had been successfully accomplished the storm came down upon them suddenly from the north-west, and with it the ice. From nine o'clock in the evening until morning the ships were in momentary peril of being sunk. The gentlemen as well as the mariners were incessantly employed, some hauling at the ropes, others keeping a sharp look-out, while others again stood with poles and boathooks, with which they fended their barks from the on-rushing icebergs. The master's mates left in command had weighed the alternatives left them. Their own safety would be ensured by running out to sea. But there was the admiral with forty gentlemen and soldiers on shore without provisions. They had determined, therefore, to carry on the struggle with the ice rather than expose the general and his company. All that night they toiled as they had never done before. They would see advancing through the twilight a huge island of ice, and then would come the quick command to luff. That cleared, a second would loom up; and nothing but ice being seen in front, the command would come to run large before the wind. In this way they made fourteen tacks in one watch, judging it better to run any risk than to lose their admiral. Some of the icebergs scraped them and some happily escaped them, the least of which was as dangerous to strike as a rock, and able to have split asunder the strongest ship of the world.'

It was no small addition to Frobisher's anxiety to see with him on the lee of the little island the captains and masters whose place was on board their ships during this extreme peril. But the mates were skilful sailors, and did all that could be done, though they all said afterwards that God was their best steersman, and devoutly thanked

the Providence of God who had arranged that on seas compassed by so many dangers night should be a pale reflection of the day.

Next morning, being the 20th, 'as God would' the storm ceased. Thus ever was remembrance had and acknowledgment made of higher help and the Stiller of Tempests. Frobisher was greatly surprised, at the break of day, to see the ships, which he had supposed driven far out, almost in the place where he had left them the day before. He and his company, with their captive infidel, quickly came on board. After he had fully related what had happened to them on shore, and they of the ships had told the story of the night, all knelt down and gave God humble and hearty thanks for that it had pleased Him from so speedy perils to send them such speedy deliverance.

Their thanksgiving done, and the Straits having been partially cleared of ice, the admiral gave command to sail towards the southern coast in search of a safe anchorage. The next morning they came in sight of a bay wherein they hoped to find shelter from the still drifting floes. The cliffs around the bay glittered brightly in the sun, and the voyagers stared with open-mouthed astonishment, supposing that they were gazing on a sort of wonderland, and that all those shining rocks were mountains of gold. Frobisher instantly sprang into a boat with a company of gold-finders and rowed in. Towards evening they returned again, and sadly reported that what had seemed to be the precious metal was no better than black-lead. Hope soon reasserted her dominion, and they consoled themselves with the handy proverb that 'All is not gold that glistereth.'

If they had not found the cliffs to be bullion they had found a shelter for the ships, which to them was a more

instant necessity than gold. Next morning the toiling ships sailed up the bay and came to an anchorage. The sense of security to which they now yielded was nearer proving the destruction of their chief vessel than all the fury of the preceding tempest. The worn-out crew having bestowed themselves to rest, and the watch being greatly neglected, a sudden danger beset them. The sleeping men were abruptly awakened by a loud crash. Having rushed on deck, they found that the ebbing tide had brought down the Straits a large floe which had approached unperceived and struck the stern of the 'Aid,' nearly staving it in. Equal to every emergency, gentlemen and mariners sprang to work. Some took to the boats, and with poles and hooks cleared a passage up the bay. The others took a stout pull at the capstan, hauling in the slack in their cable; then, having freed the ship from the ice chafing at her steerage, they hoisted their foresail, cut away their cable, and ran up a narrow tortuous channel, cleared for them by the boats, to the upper end of the bay. Frobisher had been greatly pleased with the mate of the 'Aid,' who had carried that ship through the storm and the ice of the 19th, and who had also chosen the present anchorage, and as a reward named the place after him, calling it Jackman's Sound.

CHAPTER XVIII.

While at anchor in this Sound the gold-finders were employed in diligently searching among the minerals on the shores and islands. The samples gathered by Frobisher on the northern side were also tested, and gold found in good quantity in most of them. On a little island in the

Sound a silver mine was discovered, but they paid no further heed to that.

It would seem that Frobisher himself, being deeper in the secrets of the assayers than those who have chronicled their doings and findings, showed dissatisfaction with the ore. Perhaps it was expected that gold might be found unmixed with stone or quartz. At any rate they judged it impracticable to sail out of the Sound for a while; and so, familiarised with the idea of cliffs of gold shining in the morning sun, and islands of silver studding the sea, they turned their attention to other matters.

They found here, cast up dead upon the beach, a fish that much astonished them. Its most curious feature was a horn, wreathed and straight, six feet in length, growing out of its nose. They called it the Sea Unicorn. Frobisher on his return presented the narwhal's horn to Queen Elizabeth, who greatly valued it as a jewel, and commanded it thenceforth to be kept in her wardrobe.

The supposition of the voyagers was that the land, of which they had taken formal possession on the northern shore, was a part of Asia or some new continent, and that the southern shore, where they now were, was a part of the continent of America, the Straits separating the two. The next step, therefore, was to proclaim the Queen's sovereignty over this latter. So on the morning of the 24th the admiral went ashore with seventy men, and with ensign displayed marched two or three miles inland. Then were enacted the same solemnities, similar crosses erected, and a like exhortation to duty spoken, as on the other coast. They added, however, thanksgiving for the discovery of so great wealth. They did not deem poverty a blessing. Gold was to them a God-given power, and on those icy shores they implored the Divine Grace so to order that this wealth should be safely delivered in their native

land, and there be made an instrument to set forth God's honour, the result of which, they added, would be the advancement of the commonwealth. Their political economy was as sound as their theology.

The gentlemen of the company were so fired with ardour by these ceremonies that they rose above the pursuit of gold, and desired the general's permission for twenty or thirty of them to march a hundred miles or so up the country for discovery and science. Frobisher's heart was with them, but he remembered too well the Queen's instructions. He remembered the episode at Harwich, the shortness of the season, the fierce nature of the savages, but nothing more vividly than the lust for riches exhibited by the venturers in the expedition who were awaiting his return to England. He had been sent for a cargo of ore, and not for discovery. So he felt constrained to refuse the spirited request, trusting that, should he execute his present commission with success and satisfy the venturers, he might by their and God's help be enabled to go another summer in search of the North-West Passage to Cathay, and so around the world,—the achievement which had been nearest his heart ever since he had reached manhood.

The Straits were now almost clear of ice, and so, two days afterwards, leaving the 'Aid' at her present anchorage, he took the 'Gabriel' and 'Michael' across to the northern side. The passage was accomplished the same day. The ore at Jackman's Sound was by no means satisfactory. The two barks anchored in an exposed situation; but no danger was anticipated, and the spot was close to a very rich mine. The miners were set to work, and in two days collected together on the beach about twenty tons of the ore, yet they never succeeded in getting it on board, for once again the contests between the barks and the ice were repeated.

The 'Gabriel' was riding astern of the 'Michael,' and some time during the second day of their coming hither a floe drifting down before a strong wind galled asunder the cable of the former. This was the third anchor the 'Gabriel' had lost during the voyage. She now rode by the one anchor left, which was expected every moment to drag, or the cable part by the fretting of the ice. Close under her lee was a sharp-pointed reef, so that either of the dreaded calamities would be certain destruction. While the crew were devising some escape out of this perilous situation, a large iceberg was seen drifting steadily and directly upon the 'Gabriel.' Even Frobisher gave up and stood waiting to see the doughty little craft which had weathered so many tempests, and which was dearer to him than all the others, pitilessly ground to fragments between the iceberg and the reef. But by God's help, as they said, this great iceberg was the best friend of the bark, though advancing in such threatening attitude. It drifted down until it came within about the length of a boathook of the 'Gabriel' and stopped. The great mountain of ice had grounded and formed a little harbour against the wind and the floes.

The crew of the 'Michael,' desiring to share in the shelter thus providentially afforded, sent a boat with an anchor to make fast to the ice and hauled themselves under its lee, but too close for safety. They had yet to learn the dangerous character of icebergs in the latter part of July, though Christopher Hall had had some experience of it on the first voyage. About midnight the grounded iceberg parted and heeled over when distant less than half its own length from the 'Michael.' It was another hairbreadth escape; and with good reason did they bear in mind the Providence that fenced them in. The tides, ice, wind, and current were again felt, and these, combined with the fearful

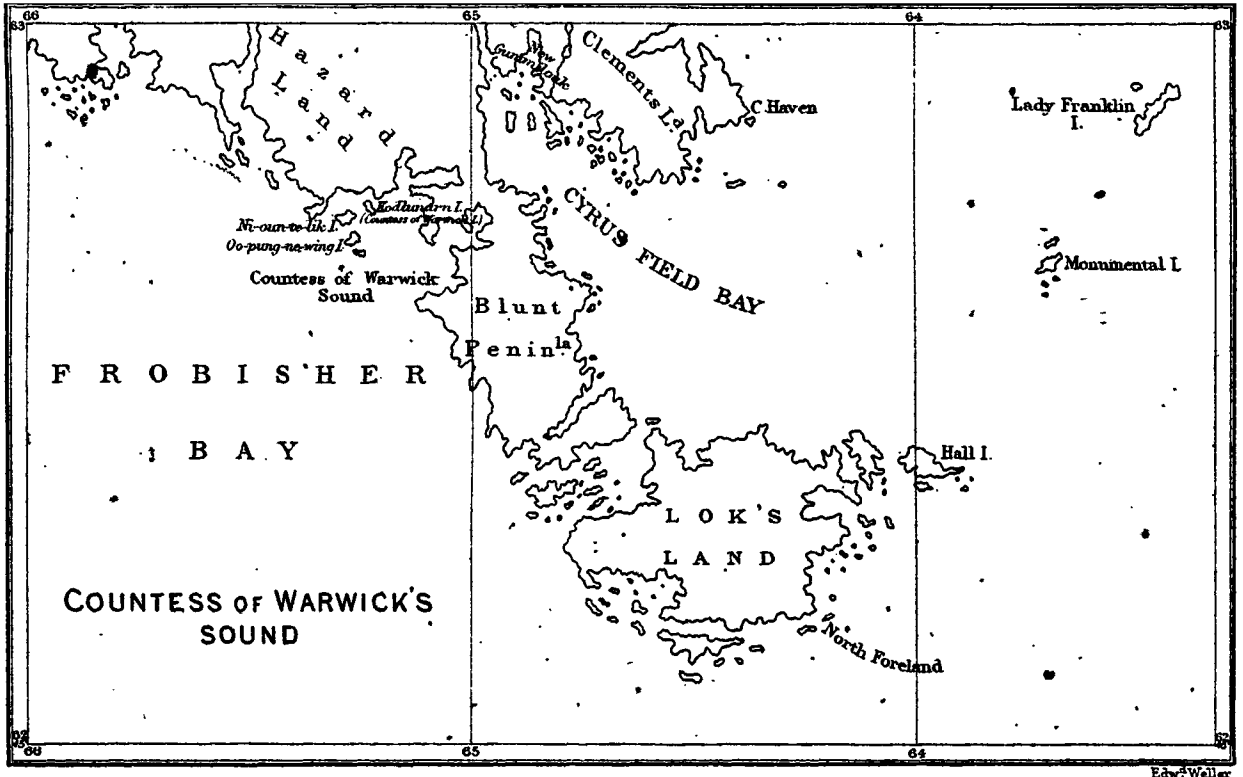
noise which the falling iceberg had made, were so far disquieting that the barks hastened to weigh anchor and run up the Straits on the next flood, leaving the ore behind them.

CHAPTER XIX.

The anchorage they were quitting they called Beare's Sound, after the master of the 'Michael.' Frobisher rewarded his companions by putting their names on the map of the world, though subsequent navigators have left but few of the old names first given by the Elizabethan voyagers. Even Frobisher's Straits have become Lumley's Sound.

Running up with the flood-tide they came on the lee of a small island, where they landed. Here they found several interesting things. They first of all came upon a tomb wherein was a skeleton, from which the flesh had obviously been removed. The captured infidel, whom they had brought with them, was questioned if here was not a proof of cannibalism. But he combated this inference, making signs that the skeleton was that of a man who had been slain and devoured by wild beasts. They next found great stores of native treasures buried under heaps of stones or hairns. There were dried fish, sleds, knives made of bone, kettles made of fishskins, and also bridles. These latter rather puzzled the Englishmen, and so they demanded of their captive what animals they could be employed in harnessing. On this he nimbly 'caught one of our dogs and hampered him handsomely therein as we do our horses, and, with a whip in his hand, he taught the dog to draw in a sled.'

By next day they had sailed north-westerly five leagues, when they came to a bay well fenced in by small islands



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against the ice drifting down, and by the mainland against the ice drifting up the Straits. This they found to be the best harbour yet discovered on the American coast. The island under which they anchored, as well as the enclosed Sound, they called after the name of the Countess of Warwick. This was the farthest point reached by the voyagers that year. On the Countess of Warwick's island they found good store of such gold ore as contented the admiral, who became more and more anxious, as he saw the short summer advancing, to satisfy Michael Lock and his fellows of the Company of Cathay.

Ftobisher having received the return of the assayers as to the richness of the ore, and being pleased beyond measure with the harbour after the many narrow escapes they had obtained in their encounters with the ice, at once despatched the 'Michael' to Jackman's Sound to bring the 'Aid' across. He then landed all his men, and, as was his custom in going to declare the Queen's sovereignty or advancing to meet an enemy, he put himself at the head of his company and began gathering the ore with his own hands, setting them an example how they should labour to load the ships with the golden ore. In imitation every man, 'both better and worse, with their best endeavours willingly laid to their helping hands.'

Having thus set the work a-going, he took a small company and crossed over from the island to the mainland of what they called Meta Incognita, having with him the captive for an interpreter and expounder. They soon came upon some of the native winter houses, now deserted, closely observed their construction, their drainage, and the signs of the filthy habits of the people. As they were returning the captive loitered a little in the rear. The eye of his guard was upon him, who detected him in the act of stooping down and placing something upon the path. The

general was at once informed, and all the company returned to examine what the native had done. The poor homesick savage had stuck in the ground five small sticks in a circle, with a small piece of bone planted in the centre. Some of the Englishmen at once saw witchcraft in the device, and were considerably alarmed at the native charm. But the good sense of the commander read the silent message more intelligently. The five sticks he made out to be the five Englishmen captured by the aborigines the year before, and the bone to signify the savage whom they were holding as a prisoner, and that in this way he sought to convey to his friends intelligence of his condition, as well, perhaps, as to influence them to produce the white men, that he might be restored to liberty, his home, and his people.

Another story told of their captive infidel ran in this way. It will be remembered that the English had taken a native back to England the year before. A picture of him had been painted, and this Frobisher had in his possession. In it the native was depicted in his own apparel as well as in the dress of civilisation, together with his paddle and canoe. One day this counterfeit was exhibited to their present captive. At first he was suddenly and greatly amazed; and as two of any tribe of American Indians, though they should be father and son, in meeting after a long separation for awhile contemplate one another in silence and with looks askance, so this poor savage, seeing the picture of his friend, and thinking it to be alive but changed into this diminutive compass by some necromancy, looked casually and indifferently at it, then away; again at it, then away,—observing the strictest silence all the time, as though awaiting to be addressed by it. After proceeding in this way for a considerable time he himself broke silence and began to question the portrait.

This he repeated more than once; and finding it still dumb to his appeals, he began to exhibit anger. At this stage the Englishmen interfered, being anxious about the safety of the picture, and persuaded the poor savage to handle it. This he did, and with a pitiful result altogether unexpected. He now believed that instead of the physical frame of his friend it was his spirit. As this conviction possessed him he broke out into loud cries, showing intense alarm and fear of the white men, believing that they were able to make men live or die at their pleasure.

Thus persuaded, he seems to have thought it useless to try to hide anything, and for the first time confessed that he knew of the capture of the five Englishmen the year before. Being questioned further, he said he could give no information. Being asked as to whether they were slain and eaten or not, he made signs in the negative, and emphatically denied the truth of the insinuation. The Englishmen understood that he repudiated both the slaying and eating, while the captive seems to have only thrown back the charge of cannibalism.

CHAPTER XX.

The story of the 'Aid' was that, after the admiral's departure with the two barks, some of their men had gone ashore on a small island in Jackman's Sound on the last day but one of July. In one of the coves they saw a large native boat with eighteen or twenty men in it. They made all the haste they could to return to the ship, which was anchored near by; and while they were relating what they had seen the natives appeared on a hill of the island waving a flag and making noises 'like so many bulls.' The

ensigns planted on the crosses of heaped-up stones were duly economised by the natives instead of being stripped bare to the poles by the fury of the Arctic winds.

A light swift skiff, with seven men in her, was sent forward from the 'Aid,' and a heavier boat well equipped sent after for protection. The skiff was intended to open communication with the natives; but the latter seeing the white men approach took to their boats and fled,—whether from fear or to draw the skiff away from the neighbourhood of the larger boat was not clear. The men in the skiff did not wait to settle the question, but took up the pursuit. The affair became a rowing match, which continued for two miles out to sea, and in which the English were badly beaten. After pulling manfully for those two miles and seeing the distance between them and the canoes slowly but steadily widening, the boatswain passed the word to give up the chase and return to the ship.

The story of the 'Michael,' sailing under Captain Gilbert Yorke, was that, having come off the southern shore of the Straits, and being unable to make up their leeway, they put into a small bay four leagues distant from Jackman's Sound. (The little bay was afterwards named Yorke's Sound.) On landing there they found some seal-skin tents pitched. The natives seem to have hidden at their approach. At any rate the captain, seeing nothing of them, made bold to enter their dwellings. Besides the native food and other domestic property they found a canvas doublet, a shirt, a belt and three shoes of different sizes and for contrary feet, all being of English manufacture. It was clear that these articles had belonged to the five captured Englishmen; and Captain Yorke moreover concluded that they were held captives by the tribe of Esquimaux upon whose village he had so unexpectedly come. The men of the 'Michael' were, therefore, filled

with hope of regaining their countrymen, and at once began to devise a plan by which that happy result might be brought to pass. Wisely and kindly they set about the execution of it. Captain Yorke sent off a boat to the 'Aid,' which returned in the course of the night, bringing back Hall and Jackman. A letter was then written to the lost men in which they were informed of the condition and anxiety of their friends. This was taken to one of the tents, and pen, ink, and paper placed beside it, in order that the men might have the means of sending an answer. In addition various small presents were placed in the tent. When this had been done they took with them only a native dog and departed. The wind being now favourable, they ran with the 'Michael' to Jackman's Sound, intending to employ the men of the 'Aid' in the further prosecution of their plan.

An expedition was immediately organised. George Best, being the general's lieutenant, commanded in the absence of Frobisher. The two rowing pinnaces, containing between thirty and forty men, pulled away for Yorke's Sound. On arriving there Jackman, with a portion of the company, landed. Their orders were to march inland to where the tents had been seen and visited, surround them, and seize all the occupants—both natives and the English captives. In the meantime the pinnaces would row around the point to intercept any attempt at flight by water. That they knew was the favourite resource of the savages, and would be still more so since they had found the superiority of the speed of their canoes over that of the ships' boats.

Jackman accordingly advanced with his men to where Captain Yorke had shown him the Esquimaux village the day before. But on their arrival they discovered that the tents had been removed. The mate of the 'Aid' determined now on proceeding in the direction of the point

where the pinnaces were to be on the watch. They crossed one tedious mountain range, and then another loomed up in front. This also they ascended, and then perceived a third barring their advance. Here was as weary a climb as could be; but when they had reached the summit they saw a number of tents pitched in the valley beneath. The native village was situated near the upper end of a long narrow creek which opened into the sea at a considerable distance. Jackman, who was the very leader for such an enterprise, having commanded silence, and arranged his men in a sort of skirmishing order, crept down swiftly and secretly on the tents. The natives were taken by surprise, for not until the English had reached the outskirts of the village were they aware of their danger. Then a sudden alarm was raised, paddles were snatched up hurriedly, but not all. A rush was made for the canoes drawn up high on the beach. In spite of the Englishmen's quick pursuit the Esquimaux succeeded in launching one great and one small canoe, into which they sprang, and easily paddled out of range. Jackman ordered those of his men who carried arquebuses to fire on the natives, not so much with a hope of doing any damage as to give the alarm to the men in the pinnaces, should they be within hearing. In the meantime the fugitives, much crippled for want of paddles, were proceeding leisurely down the creek and drawing near to the mouth. This proved their destruction, for the pinnaces, having heard the sound of firearms, now rounded the point. Instantly the Esquimaux bent to their work, and the English to theirs. It was a question of speed, as it had been with them before. But the English were in possession of the mouth of the creek and cut them off from the open sea, where pursuit would have been useless. The natives, seeing their flight intercepted, on the instant turned and ran their canoes ashore on the side opposite to

that on which their village was pitched, and Jackman with his men were standing as spectators. Their first action was something similar to that of modern artillerymen when they spike their guns; for as soon as they set foot on land they broke all their paddles, thus thinking to prevent our countrymen from carrying away their boats. They then advanced boldly to oppose the landing of the pinnaces, for these had speedily followed on their retreat. The natives fought desperately as long as their arrows and darts lasted. Then a strange spectacle of valour was exhibited by them, for they ran to and fro gathering the arrows which our men had shot, while others plucked the arrows out of their bodies, and thus replenished, advanced once more to the contest, continuing it until both weapons and strength failed them. At this crisis desperation followed on valour. Those of the dauntless savages, who had been wounded and found flight beyond their ability, cast themselves from the cliffs headlong into the sea and were drowned. The others made their escape among the rocks.

One Englishman had been dangerously wounded in the abdomen. Six natives were found dead. The pursuit was continued some distance, and one of our men took captive an old woman. Another, seeing what he supposed a native warrior hiding among the rocks, fired. A scream betrayed that she was a woman. She was carrying a babe in her arms, and the bullet had passed through her hair and the child's arm. With her, as with thousands of mothers before and since, it had been a choice between the desertion of her child and captivity. The surgeon quickly applied some salves and bandages to the babe's wound; but the mother, naturally suspecting that no kindness could be meant by her enemies, tore off the leech's ligaments as soon as her child was restored to her arms; then, with a brute's instinct and a mother's love, licked the

wound. Her surgery was successful, for she continued her treatment until the little one recovered.

The mother and child were kept as prisoners; but the fate of the old woman was different. Her ugliness was so great that the more ignorant of the Englishmen feared they had captured a devil or witch who might prove to them an evil possession. They looked carefully all around her for some token of her nativity or of an unholy alliance with the powers of darkness; and at last took off her buskins, to see if she were cloven-footed. Although they found none of the signs for which they were looking they still considered her 'uncanny,' and, thinking it better to lean to the side of caution, they let the poor old woman go and rejoin her people.

The skirmish had heated the Englishmen's blood and, as they themselves confessed, awakened the baser passions of their nature; so, contrary to their wont, they went up to the village and made a spoil of everything they found. The articles of English make that were in the tents they took away. On closer examination the canvas doublet was seen to have many holes in it made with arrows, from which it was concluded that the lost men were dead. They also found a new argument for believing that the lost men had been eaten as well as slain in the fact that the natives devoured their food not only raw but in the carrion state: an inference that might have a sinister construction if carried out to the end.

As the evening came down they entered the pinnaces to return; but a sudden tempest was near proving their destruction. Towards morning Jackman's Sound was reached; and the next day the two ships set sail for the Countess of Warwick's Sound, where they rejoined Frobisher and the toiling gold-miners.

CHAPTER XXI.

THERE was great curiosity among the voyagers to see what their captives would do when brought together. The manifestation of feeling was very similar to that already witnessed when the picture was displayed. They looked at each other 'very wistly' for a long time, neither uttering a sound; their faces going through a great play of emotion, as if expressing grief and disdain. At length the silence was broken by the woman turning away and singing monotonously to herself. Some of the gentlemen who were not satisfied with this issue once more brought them face to face. In a little while the man began to speak in a stern manner and as if relating a solemn tale. She listened attentively, with face averted, speaking never a word. When the man had finished his discourse she quietly began to busy herself in such things as appertain to a good housewife, and they henceforth seemed to grow very fond of one another. But though closely watched they never once crossed the limits of the strictest modesty.

All the three ships were now anchored under the Countess of Warwick's Island, on which a considerable store of the mineral had been collected. Frobisher saw signs of danger along the mainland, and therefore commanded George Best, his lieutenant, to disembark all his soldiers upon the island and fortify the place, for the better protection of the miners.

While this was being carried out, a large number of the savages was seen on a cliff of the mainland waving a flag and uttering loud cries. As far as Frobisher could make out, it appeared that the remnant of the tribe of Yorke's Sound had crossed over to their friends of the

northern shore, and now were complaining of the capture of the woman and child. So the admiral commanded her to be placed on a lofty part of the island where she might be seen by her people; then himself entered a boat, taking, besides the crew, his male captive for interpreter. When the poor savage came near and recognised the faces of his friends on shore, he fell into great grief and shed tears abundantly. For a long time he was so overcome as to be unable to speak a word. At length, mastering his emotion, he talked with his friends at large, and afterwards with pretty generosity distributed among them the various trifles which he had received from the English. Subsequent events would furnish another explanation of this conduct. He might have been transferring his wealth to his friends' keeping, intending to follow secretly; and if he perished in the attempt a dying man could afford to be liberal.

When the show of affection on both sides had been indulged, Frobisher instructed the interpreter to demand the return of the five Englishmen, and to tell his people that such was the only condition on which he and the woman should ever be liberated. Should, however, his men be restored large gifts would be given to the savages as well as the friendship of the white men. The answer of the Esquimaux was that three of the captured sailors were still alive, and that they should be surrendered. Their interpreter had formed some idea of the use of writing from seeing our men employ that art in putting down the words which he had been trying to teach them of his language, and which they repeated next day from a look at the paper. So now a letter was demanded from Frobisher to the captives. The admiral returned to the island to write it; and it being then late, the letter was not delivered until next morning. With it were sent pen, ink, and paper, that an answer might be returned.

This was the general's letter:—

'In the name of God in whom we al beleve, who, I trust, hath preserved your bodyes and souls among these infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to seeke by all meanes you can devise for your deliverance, eyther with force, or with any commodities within my shippes, which I will not spare for your sakes, or anything else I can do for you. I have aboord of theyrs a man, a woman, and a childe, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the man I carried away from hence laste yeare is dead in England. Moreover you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I wyll not leave a manne alive in their countrey. And thus unto God whome I trust you do serve in haste I leave, and to him we will dayly pray for you. This Tuesdaye morning the Seaventh of August, Anno 1577.

'Yours to the uttermost of my power,

'MARTIN FROBISHER.

'I have sent you by these bearers, penne, incke, and paper, to write backe unto me agayne, if personally you can not come to certifye me of your estate.'

This letter, written in haste and intended for common mariners, exhibits the admiral as a true lover of the humblest of his men as well as a trustful Christian. The gathering of gold found no favour with him. For the three sailors whom he was informed were still alive he was willing to sacrifice all the merchandise he had on board; at the same time he devoutly hoped that in their captivity they had not forgotten their God. Frobisher's conduct in this matter contrasts in a remarkable manner with that of some of the commanders of expeditions to Virginia, who deserted scores of their countrymen, leaving them a prey to

famine and savages for the chance of capturing a Spanish West Indiaman.

When the natives received the letter they made signs, pointing to the sun, which was understood to mean that they would return within three days. So the pretended messengers made believe to depart in haste.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Esquimaux were still loitering along the cliffs in the neighbourhood; and Frobisher suspected that treachery was meditated, for which the late transactions, apparently so peaceable, might be only a cloak. He determined on increasing the vigilance of his men, and so the trumpeter was ordered to sound the call. The soldiers, numbering about forty, assembled around the ensign planted on the top of the island and were addressed by the general, who pointed out to them the danger in which they stood; that they were far from home; that a tribe of savages, of whose numbers they were ignorant, but of whose fierceness and valour they knew enough, was lurking among the rocks opposite; and that at every ebb of the tide they could cross over to the island almost dryshod. Every man, therefore, was to be ready at all times for any sudden alarm.

During the two days of waiting for the return of the messengers the natives assumed a still more threatening attitude, and the general ordered a fort to be constructed, which was to cover the shallow passage between the island and the mainland. For this purpose the lieutenant chose a cliff fenced on three sides by the sea; the fourth side

they fortified with casks of earth, which the men called 'Best's Bulwark.' By way of counterblast the natives sent a messenger, who, standing on the outermost reef, shouted across that their king, whose name was Çatchoc, a man of greater stature than any of the English, and whose state chair was the shoulders of his subjects, was coming with a great force.

Fearing to be taken by surprise and overwhelmed with numbers, the lieutenant had at midnight a false alarm sounded, to discover the readiness of his men, and the succour which in a real emergency he might count upon from the ships. The result was such that confidence was restored.

On August 11, being the third day after the delivery of the letter, some of the savages approached as near as they might and called across to the men on the island. Frobisher at once rowed over to a spot where three only of the natives appeared to await his coming. These manifested great joy and friendliness, making signs that those in the boat should row around the point to a cove out of view of the ships and island where the captive white men were. This reminded the admiral of the manner of the taking of his men; so he at once commanded the boat to stand clear of the shore. The conference still continued; and the natives showed a great bladder which they desired should be given to their countryman. The boat was deftly thrust in, and a sailor leaped ashore, seized the bladder, laid down a little mirror in exchange, and sprang on board again. Their captive, on being asked the use of the bladder, said that it was for holding drinking-water. The English suspected this explanation. Events justified them, for subsequently both the man and woman were more than once caught in the act of untying the painters of the ships' boats. And on one occasion they all but

succeeded-- the boats of the 'Aid' had been cast adrift, and the captives were on the point of leaping overboard with the inflated bladder for a buoy.

While Frobisher was still parleying, the look-out on the island espied the main body of the Esquimaux creeping down from rock to rock towards the boat. The alarm was given, and Frobisher immediately ordered the boat home.

With a view of overawing the English, or as a declaration of hostilities, the savages marshalled their full force in ranks of twenty along the ridges of the mainland, moving together as if performing the war-dance, holding their hands above their heads and singing what was doubtless meant as the war-song. The English watched this diversion until nightfall, and then Frobisher, intending to amuse them with a display of his power, ordered the heaviest cannon to be fired. The sound of it echoing among the cliffs and mountains damped all the ardour incited by the war-song, and so startled the natives that they immediately lowered their hands and took to their heels. An attack had undoubtedly been meditated that night. The method of exciting the courage previous to an assault is very much the same with all the aboriginal tribes of North America. But, as always, the sound of the cannon did more than its missile could ever have accomplished.

Still the miners diligently pursued the work of loading the ships, while the soldiers and gentlemen made warlike display. A sham fight was carried out. Sudden sallies were made against imaginary foes. Fictitious assaults were resisted. And on August 14 Frobisher took out his two rowing pinnaces. His purpose was to more closely examine the coast to the northwards, as he expected to find tracts free from savages, whom he supposed to be now all gathered to the vicinity of the ships. But the natives

had kept strict watch, and rapidly ran overland to meet him at whatever point he might land, and to play upon him a pretty stratagem which they had evidently been long time preparing. With great pains and some skill they had made a white flag such as they had seen the English employ as a signal of peace. This they had constructed out of bladders cut into square pieces and sewed together; and it was given to three of their own people who had whited their faces with some colouring matter, to wear the appearance of Englishmen. These were to be the decoys. The two pinnaces having passed up secretly into the northern parts of the Countess of Warwick's Sound, the admiral was greatly surprised at seeing three white men vigorously waving a white flag as though in the extremity of fear and momentarily expecting to be overtaken by pursuers. It was short work to pull the pinnaces to the spot, and the deception was all too manifest. The Englishmen stopped short and rested on their oars, fearing some ambuscade. The natives seem throughout either to have formed too high an opinion of their own strategy or too low an opinion of the Englishmen's sagacity. So it was on this occasion. The three whited savages, though detected in their treachery, had the further simplicity to suppose that by fair professions they could induce our men to come ashore and take rest, while the remainder of their force, though presumably invisible, was plainly seen by all creeping down towards the landing-place. It struck the English as a sort of theatrical fiction of invisibility, or as the hiding of the ostrich in the desert sands.

Frobisher in the meantime had ordered the pinnaces to be thrust close in shore, stern on, and the rowers to be ready for instant flight. The simplicity of the natives seemed to have no bounds. For at this point their spokesman, observing no disposition on the part of the boats'

crews to disembark, brought 'a trim bait of raw flesh' with which to tempt their appetites. This one of the sailors standing in the boat's stern took deftly with a boathook and brought in, hoping it would prove a delicacy for their captives, who had not yet learned to digest English food.

The Esquimaux had not exhausted their strategy. One more device remained. As soon as the savage perceived that the piece of raw flesh had been fished out of his hands he went back some distance, and was seen presently returning with a cripple companion leaning on his arm. At every rough place he considerately took the halt man on his back and bore him over it. When these two had reached the beach the cripple was placed reclining on the strand, while the other retreated.

Frobisher was now beset with a new danger, and from his own men. But his manner of meeting it showed that he had the highest qualification of a general, viz., the power of refusing a battle and standing unmoved under the urgings and suspicions of his own followers. For when the cripple had been set down within a boat's length of them, all on board were so enraged, not only at the repeated treacheries of the savages, but at this last insult to their common sense, that they clamoured to be instantly set on shore and led against the foe. There was no advantage to be gained by such a course. Pride might be allayed and lives lost, which would in no way further his plans or instructions; so he firmly put their demand aside. Then he laughingly told them that he was not averse to curing the poor infidel of his impotency if that would content them. This pleasantry suited the rough humour of the soldiery; and the general at once ordered one of his men to fire off his arquebus just in front of the cripple's face, giving him a graze. It was instantly done: the

reigning infidel gave a great bound, and in a moment was safely hidden behind a rock.

The Englishmen indulged in a great roar of laughter; but their laugh was cut short at seeing the savages rise from behind every rock and with one mind rush down towards the landing-place. The pinnaces were quickly pulled away; and though the caliver which they had on board opened a retreating fire the natives showed no inclination to hide or shrink from the contest. Still they stood on the rocks hurling darts and arrows though the boats were out of range.

All the way back to the ships the savages followed along the cliff. Ever abreast of the pinnaces, and running out to the furthermost rocks, they poured upon them a shower of arrows as they passed, our men replying with a desultory fire from their arquebuses. Several of the natives were seen to fall, but none of the Englishmen were even wounded. And so they returned in safety.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Five miners, assisted more or less by a few gentlemen and soldiers, had been now three weeks engaged in collecting the ore and lading the ships. Two hundred tons had been placed on board. These men were now weary, their clothes worn out, the ore baskets were bottomless, their tools broken, and the vessels reasonably well filled. Several of the men besides, through over-exertion, had brought on, some lameness, others hernia. Ice had latterly been forming every night around the ships, and men were employed each day in breaking it. All these things pointed

to the necessity of returning home. So on Thursday, August 22, the tents were struck, bonfires were lighted on the highest point of the island, a volley fired in honour of the Countess of Warwick, and then all embarked.

Next day the wind played them false; and after proceeding down the Sound a few miles they were forced to anchor for the night. On the 24th the wind changed and the ships made good way down the Straits; but the wind increased so that by midnight the signal was given to lie a-hull or heave-to under bare poles. Next morning there was half a foot of snow on the hatches.

Exceedingly rough weather was experienced for the next five days, and the 'Michael' was lost sight of. They had been sailing in a south-easterly direction ever since leaving the Straits, and for several hours previous to the disappearance of the 'Michael' the two barks had been unable to carry any sail at all.

The next day, being August 30, a sad calamity happened on board the 'Gabriel.' While the storm was still beating down in all its fury, and the bark, lying a-hull, was shooting up into the wind's eye, William Smyth, the master, a young man and sufficient mariner, stood by the side of Captain Fenton, the boatswain being close beside them, and in a very gay, pleasant manner related a dream he had had the previous night. He dreamt, he said, that he was cast overboard, and that while struggling with the waves the boatswain took him by the hand, but was unable to save him. So, his grasp relaxing, himself was carried away. He had just finished relating his dream in a jocular way when it came true in all its horrors. The ship fell off into the trough, gave a great lurch, and a terrific wave sweeping the decks carried the master and boatswain overboard. The latter grasped a rope with one hand as the ship rolled towards him, and with the other laid hold on

the master. What Captain Fenton was doing in the meantime is not told, but one regrets that Frobisher with his rescuing grasp was not on the spot. The boatswain struggled with his double hold for some time. At length, his strength failing him, he let go of the master, who was carried away and drowned.

Some men call such things coincidences. Hamlet's words furnish a more humble commentary:—

> There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

On September 1 the 'Aid' found that she was outstripping her consort, and hove-to in a terrible storm to await the 'Gabriel.' The little bark was not able to carry any sail, and the 'Aid,' standing so much higher out of the water, soon drifted out of sight. The admiral, seeing that he was only endangering his own ship without benefiting the 'Gabriel,' let out a bunt and ran before the wind. That was the last they saw of the bark. The three ships being now separated, each supposed the others lost.

Next day, the 'Aid' having cleared the track of the storm, came upon a calm, which proved the salvation of the ship. For in looking about them to estimate the amount of damage done by the storm they discovered that the helm was torn in twain and on the point of falling away. Taking advantage of the smooth sea, a dozen of their best men were slung over; and what with swimming, diving, driving of planks, and binding with ropes, the damage was in a great measure repaired. When the work was accomplished the men were drawn out of the water more dead than alive. It pleased God, says the chronicler, that the sea should continue calm until their task was finished.

With indifferent winds they continued their voyage until September 17, when they made out the Land's End.

They tacked again and again to double the point and so sail up the English Channel, but the weather was so foul and the ship driven in so close to shore that they finally gave up the attempt and ran northwards in search of shelter. They tried the lee of Lundy, but were driven thence; and then they shaped their course for Milford Haven, which they reached on September 20, 1577. Frobisher immediately went ashore and rode to the Court, announcing that the two barks had been cast away.

Within a month an order came down from London to take the 'Aid' to Bristol; and on her arrival in that port they found, to their great joy, the 'Gabriel' already there. After the loss of William Smyth she had suffered much for the want of a master mariner. But fortune seems never to have deserted the 'Gabriel.' As soon as they came into the neighbourhood of the western coasts and feared to advance farther, from ignorance of the land, they fell in with a Bristol ship, which had conducted the bark safely to that harbour.

They also learned that the 'Michael,' having retraced her outward course around the Shetlands, had reached Yarmouth, much battered, but without the loss of a man. She subsequently sailed up the Thames and safely arrived in London.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Frobisher's return from the first voyage had caused great joy; his return from the second, wild excitement. On his departure for the first voyage the Queen had waved her hand at him; on his second return he was received at the Court in Windsor. Her Majesty gave him great thanks;

and, addressing the gentlemen who had taken part in the enterprise, commended them for the dangers they had braved, but specially because the discipline of the ships had been so void of offence. The gentlemen so commended, as well as others who wished to emulate their conduct, with great energy set about organising a third voyage, and spared neither 'labour, limb, nor life' to bring it about successfully.

While they were so engaged others were busying themselves with the ore. The Queen at once issued an order that forty tons of it should be so handled as to return some profit to the shareholders, of whom she was the heaviest owner. Having so well played the monarch in receiving and honouring her brave subjects, she readily changed into the prudent merchant looking after her investments. But she had to wait some time for any return from the thousand pounds.

With respect to the ore brought in the 'Aid' and 'Gabriel' it was ordered that this should be stored in Bristol Castle; and that it should be carefully weighed and placed under four locks, the four keys whereof were to be given in charge, one each, to the Mayor of Bristol, Sir Richard Barkley, Martin Frobisher, and Michael Lock. The ore brought in the 'Michael' was in like manner stored in the Tower of London, the keys in this instance being given in charge to the Warden of the Mint, the Workmaster of the Mint, Martin Frobisher, and Michael Lock. The Queen also appointed Special Commissioners to take in hand the examination of the ore and report on the value of the same. Thus the 'black stone like unto sea-coal' had become a matter of state, and interested the whole realm.

While the others were so employed and millionaires in expectancy, Michael Lock was being closely pressed by

demands which he had no means for meeting; and while the nation was rejoicing in a discovery which should produce more of the precious metals than the Spaniards had ever ground out of the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, Michael Lock was penning a pitiable statement to the Queen's Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, in which he represented that though he had been appointed Treasurer of the Company of Cathay he had had but little treasure in his keeping; and that now the wages of the voyagers were due—the several items of which run thus:—

'*In primis* for the wages of an hundred mariners in all the three ships at several rates from 10 shillings to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for a man the month, amounteth to the sum of 140*l.* the month, which from the first of June unto the last of October being five months amounteth in the whole to the sum of 700*l.*

'At 10 shillings the man. Item for wages for 26 soldiers for the said five months, as it shall please your honors.

'Item for recompense for 14 gentlemen during the time aforesaid, as it shall please your honors to consider of some reasonable portion of the adventure.

'This money cannot yet be found to be taken upon interest nor exchange.'

Either accounts were very loosely kept by the Company of Cathay or some of the voyagers were entered in more than one category and so were counted twice; for though Frobisher had been compelled to limit himself to one hundred and twenty men, Michael Lock computes for the wages of one hundred and forty.

In this petition the treasurer suggested two ways of procuring the money: either that Her Majesty should advance the necessary amount, refunding herself from the proceeds of the ore, or that the Privy Council should

order an assessment to be made upon the shareholders. It need hardly be told which alternative was adopted by the Queen. This levy was at the rate of twenty per cent. on the capital, and brought in eight hundred pounds.

The men had no sooner been paid their wages than it was discovered that, in addition to a small deficit, about eight hundred pounds were needed to build furnaces for melting the ore. There was another appeal to the Privy Council, and another order by return to collect the amount out of the shareholders. Some of the members of the Company of Cathay would, perhaps, have been thankful for limited liability. Yet new members were coming forward to take up shares. They doubtless accepted the popular rumour that two hundred tons of pure gold had been brought over, but knew nothing of the assessments. Their applications for a part in this or the next voyage were made to the Lords of the Privy Council, and subject to their approval. Thus the Government controlled the whole matter, and left to the Company of Cathay only the office of levying upon themselves cess after cess as it was ordered.

Portions of the ore were from time to time charily and carefully dealt out by the Commissioners, under certificate, and official returns began to be furnished. But there arose such a quarrel among the assayers, and it continued so long, that the Privy Council lost their interest in it, the admiral his temper, and the Company of Cathay their profits.

CHAPTER XXV.

AGNELLO—he of the cunning saying, 'Bisogna sapere adulare la natura'—had recommended to the Company a German assayer, Jonas Shutz by name. It was he who had been ever with Frobisher during the second voyage, trying, approving, or rejecting, as the case might be. He was, therefore, almost solely responsible for the value of the ore brought home. And now Shutz and Agnello made one trial after another, giving the ore as worth forty pounds the ton. These had their furnace at the house of Sir William Winter, the Chief Commissioner. Jonas pointed out to the witnesses of his working that much precious metal was left in the slag, which, he said, could not be extracted but by building larger and more perfect furnaces. So a patent was granted him to go to Bristol and build such furnaces as he thought requisite; the assayer affirming that he was confident ten ounces of pure gold would be yielded from every ton over and above the charges. Thereupon he and Frobisher started for the western city.

The Lords of the Privy Council did not like so much waste in the slag; moreover, they had received other returns of the ore, which led them to disbelieve the story of Jonas altogether. Foreigners were more fortunate in their treatment than the English. Perhaps they were not versed in Agnello's 'coaxing of nature.' The goldsmiths and assayers of London, to whom portions of the ore had been delivered, made return to the Lords that they could find no whit of gold in it. They vouched the correctness of the proofs upon 'gage of their life and goods.' Frobisher on his reappearance at Court saw these returns,

and at once sent word to Jonas directing him to stay the building of the furnaces.

During this time a certain other German assayer, named Dr. Burchard, had been trying the ore at the command of Secretary Walsingham. He seems throughout to have been determined on two things: first, the extracting of a greater quantity of gold per ton than Jonas; and, secondly, the filling of his own coffers. The building of the furnaces at Bristol having been stopped, Jonas was called to have a consultation with Dr. Burchard. Within three days there was a quarrel, Jonas accusing his countryman of 'evil manners and ignorance in divers parts of the works, and handling of the ore.' Frobisher, Lock, and Jonas now began building furnaces at Dartford, in connection with certain water-mills, which they adapted to their purpose.

But Dr. Burchard did not intend to be thrown overboard in this manner. He wrote to Frobisher, and by indulging in commendations of his own skill and cunning won his way back into the great man's confidence. Burchard outdid the assayers of London in asseveration, for he warranted the ore to contain as much gold as he said upon gage of 'his land, goods, and life.'

Jonas replied that Burchard did everything in secret, while himself wrought in the presence of the Commissioners.

Frobisher proposed, therefore, that Burchard should be allowed to melt a hundredweight of ore in the furnace at Sir William Winter's.

Jonas objected, and removed those parts of the furnace which he considered his secret, adding that if Burchard wanted the furnace he might rebuild it after his own manner. Lock had now joined the party of Jonas; and the building of the furnaces at Dartford still went on.

Burchard and Frobisher said that Jonas's bellows were too high, and in a few days changed their objection, saying that Jonas's bellows were too low.

Jonas and Lock declared that they had evidence that Burchard employed, in his working of the ore, a certain additament which was rich in the precious metals.

Burchard, having thus been betrayed by his own servant, showed to the Commissioners and Lord Treasurer his proofs made of a hundredweight of ore, and that it contained half an ounce of gold and two ounces and a half of silver. He also showed them with apparent ingenuousness a piece of antimony which was his additament.

Jonas said that it was his friend Denham who had told Burchard of the use of antimony a short time previously; that Burchard did not know troy weight, counting 23 grains to the pennyweight, and 23 pennyweights to the ounce, and that his friend Denham had pointed out to the Doctor his mistake; that Frobisher, being present with other witnesses at Jonas's workings, always went straight thence to Burchard and revealed to him everything; and that the admiral supported Burchard in his false proofs, that he might be sent on his third voyage; and did furiously run upon Jonas, being in his work at Tower Hill, and threatened to kill him if he did not finish his work out of hand; whereupon Jonas had made a solemn vow that he would never sail with him again.

On the other hand, Burchard corresponded directly with Secretary Walsingham, and in the most confident manner said that he would abide by it of his credit and honesty to extract twenty times as much out of the ore when he had his new melting-house, and hoped Her Majesty would be a good lady to him, as he was like to lose much by that business; and urged that the general be sent again speedily to the mines. He also challenged

Jonas and his friend Denham, who had been the cause of all these charges against him, to meet him at the works on Tower Hill, where he would mend Jonas's furnace and show him what he could do.

Dr. Burchard had suggested that an official assayer should be appointed by the Crown, who should teach the captains of ships a breviary of assays: that if such a skilful man could be found he should be allowed some yearly consideration: that there was an old man much troubled with the gout, who, were it not for his age and sickness, would undertake such an office, and who signed himself Burchard Kraurych. He obtained the office and the yearly consideration. But Jonas kept his vow and never went again to sea with the admiral as master of the miners.

The quarrel had one serious consequence: it prepared the way for the painful misunderstanding which accompanied the disintegration of the Company of Cathay.

An average example of the returns made of the ore is given below. It was made by Jonas, assisted by three Englishmen, and signed by the Queen's Commissioners and Martin Frobisher:—

Of the said two hundred weight of ore so molten and tried aforesaid there proceeded in silver 6 ozs. 7 pwts. 13 grs. which valued at 5*s.* the oz. maketh in money		31*s.*	10½*d.*
And of the same ore proceeded in gold 5 pwt. 5 grs., which at 4*s.* the pwt. maketh in money . .		15*s.*	7½*d.*
Sum		47*s.*	6*d.*
So at that rate one cwt. of the said ore will make in money		23*s.*	9*d.*
And a ton of the said ore by like account will make in money	£23	15*s.*	0*d.*
The charges of getting and setting the said ore into the realm as by particulars delivered by Mr. Frobisher doth appear will not exceed the ton .	£8	0*s.*	0*d.*

So upon view of this account for every 8*l.* defrayed the venturers shall gain 5*l.*, which ariseth upon every hundred pounds above . . . . . £60 0*s.* 0*d.*

The accounts of the Company of Cathay were not very closely and accurately kept, if this be taken as an example. The simple additions in the above would not pass with a modern accountant; and the deduction drawn in the last item is incomprehensible. From what goes before, 5*l.* 15*s.* would be the profit on the ton.

The assayers had shown a fine example of greed, though Burchard scarcely lived out the year, while Frobisher and Lock were rapidly drifting towards bankruptcy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WHILE these unhappy dissensions had been going on, while hopes and doubts concerning the value of the ore had been alternately swaying the minds of the venturers, while Burchard with his Falstaffian diction had been assailing dignities, and Jonas with his ruder accusations was having recurrent escapes of his life through the smoke at his smeltings, the general, his captains and master mariners, who had been so highly commended by the Queen at Windsor, had ever since that day been sparing neither 'labour, limb, nor life' to set on foot a third voyage.

They were determined this should so far eclipse the two which had gone before that men should no longer think them of any account. But posterity, having so far outstripped its ancestors in mere magnitude, is not given to consider greatly that feature in their enterprises. It is

the startling inadequacy of the means for bringing about the results actually accomplished that makes the voyages of the Ulyssean navigators of Elizabeth's reign so great. Perhaps the solitary voyage of the little 'Gabriel' will always stand foremost in simple grandeur.

Two thousand tons of ore were to be brought home. Her Majesty was to furnish two ships of four hundred and two hundred tons, manned with one hundred and fifty mariners, and carrying one hundred and twenty pioneers. The 'Aid' and 'Gabriel' were to carry eighty men. Other ships, carrying two hundred and fifty men, were to be chartered. The expedition was to be armed with heavy guns. A colony of a hundred men was to be planted on the Straits, furnished with a frame house, and provisioned for eighteen months. Such was the outline of the plan.

As for the profits—(and now another estimate of the value of the mineral was adopted)—two thousand tons at thirty pounds the ton would produce sixty thousand pounds, the net profits on which would be forty thousand pounds. In this way the projectors played with rows of ciphers, illustrating once more what magical fabrics can be constructed out of figures when all the elements which tell against one's desires are excluded.

For the purpose of initiating the colony, a fort or house of timber was constructed and fitted ready for erection. The greater part of this was put on board the bark 'Dennis.' Captain Fenton, who had been in command of the 'Gabriel' on the second voyage, and who had been so inefficient during the casting away of Master William Smyth, but who seems to have had some influence at Court, was appointed lieutenant-general of the expedition, and named for master of the colony. Of the hundred colonists forty were to be mariners, thirty miners, and thirty soldiers. Among the latter were many gentlemen

volunteers, whose fame is that they regarded not ease or riches in comparison with the commonwealth of their country. That is the spirit which has made England the missionary and mother of colonies of the world.

Instructions more numerous than ever were the last article of furniture supplied to the fleet. Frobisher was by them appointed captain-general of the expedition, and addressed as 'our loving friend Martin Frobisher, Esquire.' Should any disordered person by chance be found in the enterprise, he was to be landed at the first point touched. The captains of the ships were to be dealt with sharply if they showed any negligence, especially with regard to keeping in sight of the admiral's ship. Upon arrival in the Countess of Warwick's Sound the miners were to be set to work under armed protection. Others were to be sent in search of richer mines and a convenient spot to plant the colony. When the lading of the ore had been provided for, the admiral was to take his two little barks, the 'Gabriel' and 'Michael,' and proceed up the Straits fifty or a hundred leagues until he was certain he had entered the South Sea. Very emphatic commands were given that no amateur assays were to be made, lest the secret of the exact locality and the richness of the ore should get to foreign lands. No one was to keep any stone or other trifle to his own use. Strict accounts were to be kept of every parcel of ore; and the ships were to return in company, a fear being implied that the captains of the chartered ships might transfer the ore. An attempt was to be made to learn something more of Greenland. A minister or two was to go with the expedition to use ministrations of divine service according to the Church of England. Previous to his departure homeward, the admiral was to write full and particular instructions to Captain Fenton how the exploration of the coast north and south

for two hundred leagues should be performed, and was also to leave for the service of the colony the ships 'Gabriel,' 'Michael,' and 'Judith.'

The chief interest to the modern reader in these instructions is the exhibition of the Queen's mastery of details, and how vain a thing it is to plan without the facts.

The Queen appointed five gentlemen with whom the general was to confer in all matters appertaining to the land; and another council of four masters, who were to be his advisers in everything that concerned the ships. The prospect on the surface was fairer than ever before. Though the gold ore still held a prominent place, the project of the colony was foremost, and exploration was not forgotten. Yet, the disagreement of the assayers, which had drawn into its coils all the venturers, ranging Burchard, Frobisher, and the Court on one side, with Jonas, Lock, and the City on the other, had reached the master mariners of the expedition and sowed seeds that would ripen into insubordination later on.

In the beginning of May the various ships of the fleet commenced moving towards Harwich, which was the port of departure. The 'Aid' and 'Gabriel' sailed out of Bristol on the 2nd, under Christopher Hall, now appointed chief pilot of the fleet. At Plymouth they took on board the Cornish miners; and, accompanied by four of the chartered vessels, proceeded on their way, arriving in due time at Harwich.

Frobisher and his captains had another reception at Court, then held at Greenwich. At the same place he had been received and countenanced three years before, solely because the Queen recognised in him a great spirit; now Her Majesty threw a fair chain of gold around his neck and held out her hand to be kissed by all the captains.

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Having been honoured with many promises and words of brave exhortation from Elizabeth, who knew so well how to speak them, they took their departure and proceeded to the point of meeting.

On May 27, 1578, there were anchored off Harwich fifteen sail of ships, named and commanded as follows :—

The Aid, being Admiral	Captain	Frobisher.
The Thomas Allin, Vice-Admiral	„	Yorke.
The Judith, Lieutenant-General	„	Fenton.
The Ann Frances	„	Best.
The Hopewell	„	Carew.
The Bear	„	Philpot.
The Thomas of Ipswich	„	Tanfield.
The Emmanuel of Exeter	„	Courtney.
The Francis of Foy	„	Moyles.
The Moon	„	Upcot.
The Emanuel (or Busse) of Bridgwater	„	Newton.
Salomon of Weymouth	„	Randal.
The bark Dennis	„	Kendal.
The Gabriel	„	Harvey.
The Michael	„	Kinnersley.

CHAPTER XXVII.

As soon as Frobisher had taken formal command of the fleet he issued certain articles of directions, a copy of which was delivered to each of the captains.

They were to banish sweafing, vice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serve God twice a day with the ordinary service usual in the Church of England, and to clear the glass according to the old order of England—the 'clearing of the glass' being the old method of marking time on board ship, and answering to the modern 'bells.' They were not to undertake the chase of

any passing ship without the admiral's permission. Should any man of the fleet come up in the night and hail his fellow without recognising him, he was to give this watch-word, 'Before the world was God.' To which the other should answer, 'After God came Christ His Son.' They were also divided into three squadrons, to act under Frobisher, Fenton, and Yorke, in case of a fight.

Whether the fleet should sail to the north, or by the English Channel to the west, was to be decided by the direction of the wind prevailing at the time of departure. Everything being in readiness for setting out on the 31st, and the wind blowing from the north, they shaped their course for the Straits of Dover. Next morning they came athwart of Folkstone, and there had sight of a French man-of-war. The admiral's instructions were at once forgotten, and chase given to the Frenchman, which rapidly sailed away and disappeared under her own forts. In this way French and Spanish ships were openly attacked and captured in the Channel while the Governments were at peace; the depredators knowing that for political reasons the authorities would limit themselves to protests.

Arriving opposite Plymouth, the fleet sailed into the Sound, and Frobisher went ashore. Next day they weighed anchor and resumed the voyage.

On June 7, having passed Cape Clear, they had sight of a small vessel which they supposed to be a pirate. On this occasion the admiral joined in the chase. But the intended victim made no attempt to escape: the vessel rolled helplessly with the waves, and was found to be a Bristol ship which had been attacked by a Frenchman, many of the crew slain, all the survivors wounded, and the ship plundered even to its provisions. Thus the sea-hawks were not all Englishmen; and thus, too, motives for

piracy were laid up to be fanned by the sight of the first foreign ship. Frobisher, like most men of irritable temper, was exceedingly humane, and the condition of the survivors on the Bristol ship appealed strongly to the latter side of his character. He commanded his surgeons to dress the wounded, and their starving condition to be relieved with all the food and drink necessary for their return to port. Having generously attended to their needs, he bade them farewell, and sailed away before a favourable wind.

In his navigation of this sea the phenomena of the Gulf Stream were closely studied by the admiral, who adopted the theory that this must be the current which strikes from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, and finding no passage there, on account of the narrowness of the Straits, runs along the Carribbean Sea, and, still hemmed in by the land, is forced back again towards the north-east. The year before some attention had been paid by the voyagers to the Gulf Stream. Their theory would not have been so far out if they had not, as usual, gone out of their way to drag in the Straits of Magellan to parallel Frobisher's Straits in the north-west.

On the evening of the 19th the coast of Greenland was made out by the ship in advance, and a piece of ordnance was fired off at midnight to announce the fact to the remainder of the fleet.

Early next morning the admiral entered his pinnace, taking with him Christopher Hall, Captain Fenton, and Luke Ward, and went on board the 'Gabriel.' The little bark that had so stoutly borne the violence of these seas was sailed towards the land as near as the ice would permit. Once more they entered the pinnace and rowed in among the broken ice. Of many attempts made to land on the coast of Greenland during the three voyages,

this was the only one that was successful. The general and his companions went ashore, 'being the first known Christians that we have true notice of that ever set foot upon that ground.' Frobisher's first act was to pay one of his companions the pretty compliment of calling the bay Luke's Sound, after his name. He next took possession of the country for the use of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty. It was found to be a good harbour, 'where there may ride a hundred sail at twelve or twenty fathom and streamy ground.' In it were many small boats of the country. On shore they saw a native village of sealskin tents; the inhabitants gazing on in astonishment, 'supposing there had been no other world but theirs.' But our countrymen no sooner landed and sounded a trumpet than the Greenlanders fled in alarm, leaving everything behind them. Frobisher and his company entered the tents, and were surprised to find among other things a box of small nails, some red-herrings, and boards well cut, whence it was inferred that the natives either had traffic with some civilised country or were themselves artificers. The voyagers would perhaps have found the true account in the thought that the Greenlanders reaped the harvest of the ocean's wrecks. Another erroneous inference drawn from some observations made of the customs of the people was that Meta Incognita and Greenland formed one continent.

With the desire of winning his way into the confidence of the natives, the admiral gave strict orders that nothing should be taken away, excepting one white dog, which he himself took from among forty whelps found in the village; and as a recompense for this he left behind him pins, points, knives, and other trifles. But either discipline was lax or honesty loose in the little company, for a second white dog was taken, and without recompense, by

the trumpeter Jackson, 'unknown to my general or to any man there.'

The intention was to make further discovery of the country on the morrow, but the pinnace had barely returned to the 'Gabriel' when a dense fog came down and hid the ships of the fleet both from the land and one another. The drums were beaten and trumpets sounded on board every ship all that day and following night. The next day the fog lifted, and Frobisher gave the signal to sail away from the inhospitable coast. The country he had named West England, and the last point in sight, on account of a certain resemblance, he called by the familiar appellation of Charing Cross. And so the fleet sailed away, having seen only craggy rocks and the tops of high mountains covered with snow, to which were clinging foggy mists, and the shores whereof were guarded by an infinite number of icebergs great and small.

For the next eight days they had the old experience of gales, ice, and fogs. On the ninth day the fleet fell in with a large number of whales, which played as if they had been porpoises. As the ship 'Salomon' was sailing, with every stitch of canvas spread, a huge whale suddenly rose under her bows. The shock was so violent that the ship came to a standstill, while the whale 'made a great and ugly noise,' casting up his body and tail, and then dived into the depths. Two days afterwards a dead whale was seen floating with the waves, and this they supposed to be that which the 'Salomon' had struck.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE 'Thomas Allin,' being in advance of the other ships, sighted Lock's Land and the Queen's Foreland on July 1. A large flock of guillemots and other marine birds gathered around the ship and alighted upon her rigging. One of the crew climbed to the topmast and took three of the birds with his hand. Christopher Hall sailed his ship to the mouth of the Straits, and found the ice so thick that he hastened back to inform the admiral and warn the other ships against attempting to reach their port for the present. The first of the fleet spoken by the 'Thomas Allin' was the bark 'Dennis'; but her captain was only partly persuaded of the impracticability of entering the Straits. Hall was more successful with Andrew Dyer, master of the 'Hopewell,' and won him over to his own opinion. While they were making ready for lying-to, they saw the remaining ships of the fleet some distance to windward, sailing in among the ice, and felt themselves constrained to follow. This was on July 2.

Having advanced as far as the open water extended, the pinnace of the 'Aid' was lowered, and went in advance, seeking out a channel; the ships following in line as best they could. The ice was all in motion, and the intricate channel opened and closed so rapidly that a ship would suddenly find the way barred between her and her leader, and thus be brought into imminent danger of striking before her sails could be taken in. It was blowing a pleasant breeze, and many of the ships ran, but not violently, against the icebergs among which they were advancing, 'so as it were making way through mighty

mountains.' The 'Michael' and 'Judith,' being shorter than the most, made more rapid progress and were lost sight of in advance. The 'Thomas Allin' was plying to and fro with a sail in a pleasant lake in the ice, and in rear of the fleet. The other ships were still toiling in the wake of the admiral's pinnace, dexterously evading the masses of ice that moved upon them, when they were all brought to a standstill by a block in front. It was reported to be only a narrow isthmus of ice that delayed them, and that open water lay beyond. Boats were at once lowered and men sent forward to break through the impediment and clear a way. At this time the wind, which was blowing from the SSE., suddenly increased to a gale. At once the ice began to grind and fly in every direction. The fleet as quickly altered their course and made back for the open sea; but the ice had closed in and imprisoned them. The bark 'Dennis' was in a little bay under the lee of an iceberg, and while flatting off with her foresail was suddenly driven on the ice. A signal of distress was hoisted, and the boats which had been sent to break down the crystal isthmus took off the crew but a moment before the bark sank. A great part of the colonists' frame house or fort was on board and sank with her. Thus a fatal blow was given to the first English colony ever projected.

Various devices were employed, according to the ingenuity of each master, for the salvation of his ship. Some made fast under the lee of an iceberg. Some could find no such shelter, and were so severely nipped that the vessels were lifted bodily out of the water, breaking their knees and timbers within board. All strengthened their ships with cables, beds, masts, and such like, which, being hung overboard, acted as fenders against the outrageous strokes they were continually receiving.

And having partially unrigged, employing their top-masts and capstan bars in warding off the icebergs, they received very serious injury, for the blows which they got were so great that planks three inches thick and other things of still greater size were shivered in pieces. The men were ranged, some on the channels, with oars and pikes, some on the ice, with their shoulders against the ships' sides, and thus all night long fought against the enemy, expecting death each moment. During the thirteen hours of extreme peril the captains, with invincible mind, encouraged each his company, while of the latter some laboured for the safety of their ship and sought to save their bodies, and others of milder spirit sought to save their souls by 'devout prayer and meditation to the Almighty, thinking, indeed, by no other means possible than by a miracle to have their deliverance, so that there were none that were either idle or not well occupied, and he that held himself in best security had (God knoweth) but only bare hope remaining for his best safety.' Another quaint chronicler makes the pious reflection that God 'never leaveth them destitute which fearfully call upon Him, although He often punisheth for amendment sake.' At nine o'clock next morning the miracle of deliverance was wrought, for the wind veered round to the west, and swept away the barrier of ice between them and the open sea. The pleasant weather of that day, says Thomas Ellis, was 'as after punishment consolation.'

Four ships of the fleet, among them the little 'Gabriel,' had escaped some hours before their companions made their way out of the pack. At noon next day, seeing nothing of the others, the crews gathered around their main-masts and knelt down, giving thanks to God for their deliverance out of so great perils. Then they highly besought Him for their friends' deliverance. In the meantime the westerly wind was blowing and 'did drive the

ice before them, and also gave them liberty of more scope and sea-room.' By nightfall of the same day all the ships of the fleet, excepting the 'Dennis,' 'Judith,' and 'Michael,' had joined company once more amid great rejoicing. After the joy came the activity rendered necessary by their sad plight. The next two days were spent in making repairs; some mending their sails and tacklings, some setting up their top-masts, some stopping leaks, some lamenting over the loss of their false stem; while others recounted the dangers and ten thousand hair-breadth escapes of the night past. For better safety the twelve remaining ships of the fleet put out to sea, proposing to ply to and fro until the westerly winds had cleared the Straits of the broken ice.

Four days were spent in this way; the ships drifting on an unknown current towards the south-west. At the end of that period, though a thick fog enveloped them, the admiral gave the signal to make a second effort to enter the Straits. On July 7 or 9 they made out the land once more, the mist clearing for awhile at noon. To the north of them was seen a promontory which the majority supposed to be Lock's Land or the North Foreland. Far to the south they made out what was supposed to be the Queen's Foreland, lying about twenty leagues distant. To find themselves thus soon within the Straits greatly surprised all, and some doubts were felt as to the correctness of their observations and of their locality. The landmarks were closely scanned. Mount Warwick, where the first cross had been erected and the ensign planted with such solemnities the year before, was identified. Some took this to be conclusive in favour of their opinion that they were within the Straits. Others said that no dependence was to be placed in this, inasmuch as the air was so thick no landmark could be made out with certainty, and

that the only safe course was to remain where they were until the fog cleared and the sun's altitude was taken. Moreover, they said, the dead-reckoning clearly negatived the supposition that they could have entered the Straits. They of the contrary opinion pointed to the current which was now observed for the first time to be sweeping them rapidly towards the south-west, and made the dead-reckoning of little value. They had all been greatly astonished at the rushing and noise of the tides at this place. While the ships were hove-to, they would suddenly be caught by the stream and turned round about as in a whirlpool. Captain Best makes the comparison which Master John Davis repeats when sailing this sea subsequently. 'The noise of the stream,' he says, 'was no less to be heard afar off than the waterfall of London Bridge.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

While the fleet was thus lying-to among chafing ice and swift currents, with the fog so dense that the sun was invisible and the shore-line dim, the admiral determined to end the uncertainty as to their locality by calling a council of all the masters and pilots.

There can be little doubt that Frobisher was the first to perceive the true state of affairs, namely, that they were now lying to the south of the Queen's Foreland, while the entrance to the true Straits was north of that Foreland; but he had reasons of his own for hiding this fact.

The pinnace of the 'Aid' was sent to each of the ships to gather the opinions of the masters and pilots, and especially that of James Bear, master of the 'Ann Frances.'

The admiral placed great confidence in his knowledge of the matter, inasmuch as he had made a chart of the coast on the previous voyage. Master Bear coincided with the admiral, as did, indeed, all those consulted, with a single exception. Hall says that he took the pinnace of the 'Thomas Allin' and went himself on board the 'Aid'; that he pointed out to the admiral how none of the landmarks tallied with those of Frobisher's Straits. The discussion became warm. There can be no doubt that Hall felt some chagrin at Master Bear's opinion being deemed of greater importance than his own, and the more so since he was chief pilot of the expedition. At last Frobisher lost his temper, and, according to Hall's account, 'presently was in a great rage and swore by God's wounds that it was it, or else take his life.' Hall immediately returned to the 'Thomas Allin,' and kept that ship alongside the 'Aid' all night, still endeavouring, but in vain, to persuade the admiral of his error. Such is Christopher Hall's account. He alone makes mention of the quarrel; and since it was told with the evident intention of laying the foundation of a charge against the admiral, it may be taken for what it is worth. At the worst, it was only a temporary outburst of fury in Frobisher; but in Hall the altercation stirred lower depths, for he seems to have never forgiven his general, and sought subsequently to injure him.

On the 10th the weather thickened, and the 'Aid,' accompanied by six or seven ships of the fleet, advanced up the Straits opening in front of them towards the west. Frobisher saw now that he was in new waters; but the old lifelong passion for original discovery was once more aflame. The ore was forgotten and Frobisher's Straits set aside. The North-West Passage, Cathay, and the circumnavigation of the globe filled his imagination. These were

reasons enough in his estimation for hiding his real convictions. If they would transform a discoverer into a digger of gold they must take the consequences when the old nature got the mastery. So he continued persuading the masters of the few ships which accompanied him that they were on the right course, though he himself afterwards confessed that had it not been for the Company of Cathay, his instructions, and the freighting of his ships, he would have pushed through and finally solved the question of the North-West Passage to the rich East.

As they sailed away from the coast and advanced up the new Straits, they found themselves leaving the region of fogs and ice behind them. They had land on their starboard, and, after a while, land was seen in the distance to the south of them also. After they had pursued this westerly course for about six days, the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable them to approach the land. A certain bay was made out and entered. All the masters, save two, agreed that it was the Countess of Warwick's Sound; but inasmuch as the sky was still overcast the admiral was able for a while yet to continue the deception. They found the land more fruitful than any they had yet seen on the American shores. There were deer, partridges, larks, owls, falcons, bears, hares, foxes, plentiful pasturage, &c. Many natives also were found here, who had great boats holding twenty persons.

Luke Ward, after whom Frobisher had named the Sound where a landing had been effected on Greenland, obtained permission to go ashore and trade with the aborigines. A considerable exchange of looking-glasses, knives, bells, etc. for fish, fowl, seal and other skins took place without any misadventure. After this diversion the voyage was resumed towards the west; the admiral no doubt delighted that the masters had recognised the Sound

for themselves. But next day his hopes of making any further discovery in this direction were suddenly quenched. The sky cleared for the first time in twenty days. An observation was taken, and then all doubt vanished from every mind. They were fully sixty miles south of their port; and Frobisher regretfully gave the word to shape their course eastward once more.

Through the accidents of a thick fog and unknown current, Frobisher had made the greatest discovery of his life. He had unwittingly sailed up Hudson's Straits, and was close on the entrance to the great inland sea of North America, when the sunshine turned him back. Thus he had lighted Henry Hudson on his way.

Henceforth Frobisher held the old Straits in no estimation. In his mind every fact pointed to the present channel as the North-West Passage to Cathay. As they had advanced they had found the sea widening, and the ice no more troubling them. That a very great indraft was setting in towards the west was singularly confirmed by the discovery of fragments of the wreck of the 'Dennis,' that had sunk among the ice at the mouth of the old Straits. Some say that they found the tide here running nine hours flood to three ebb; and this they made tell in favour of their theory, though a different inference might be drawn from the fact. This current was, curiously, assumed to be a part of the Gulf Stream. They had only to continue one step farther the theory mentioned in a preceding chapter, and all was easy. The great ocean stream that had gone to Magellan's Straits in search of an outlet, and had then wandered wearily to the Isthmus of Darien, and being baffled once more had taken a journey across the Atlantic to the coast of Norway, was only to encounter its usual rebuff at that point. What, then, could it do but sweep westward once

again, and, finding itself met by the inhospitable and unbroken front of Greenland, come over to Meta Incognita and joyfully pass through the newly-discovered Straits to the long-sought-for haven in its native and genial Southern Sea?

Captain Best is not satisfied with an unsupported theory. He props it up with a philosophical argument after the manner of Humphrey Gilbert: 'Inferiora corpora reguntur a superioribus,' he observes; 'then, the water being an inferior element, must needs be governed after the superior heaven,' and to follow the course of *primum mobile* from east to west.' Still more had the faithful and brave captain to say in favour of the theory which he had heard from his general, for he had not been up the new Straits himself. There was a great downfall of water towards the west, he informs us: not so great that the ships could not return, though that was only done with much ado; for it was found that a greater distance could be sailed over in one hour, going westward, than could be retraced in three.

They had, indeed, discovered a North-West Passage to Cathay; but not a short, open, easy channel, as they supposed, and one that was parallel with Magellan's Straits. Little did they imagine how long and intricate was this way to the far East along Fox Channel, the Gulf of Boothia, Barrow Strait, Melville Sound, the Arctic Ocean, and Behring's Straits.

CHAPTER XXX.

In returning down Hudson's Straits they found that fogs and ice still held sway along the coast, as when they

were there before. By July 21 they reached the neighbourhood of the Queen's Foreland and became entangled among a number of rocks, islands, and icebergs. The wind was in their favour, but the current was against them, and the latter was the stronger of the two. While toiling to and fro in these unknown waters they would at one moment be scraping their keels on a hidden reef, and, the next moment, be in 120 fathoms of water. It was evermore from peril to peril with them. For, desiring to anchor, they would find too great depth of water; moving on a little, they would find themselves in danger of being stove in, the fog still enveloping them. On one occasion they took in their sails, determined to anchor among the rocks until the fog cleared. But just as they were making ready to let go their anchors a puff of wind carried them away from the rocks on which the current was driving. While they were in the act of thanking God for this speedy deliverance, the man in the chains announced but seven fathoms. They turned at once from thanksgiving to regretting that they had not fulfilled their intention of anchoring. The current carrying them into still shallower waters, the boats were manned and the ships taken in tow until 120 fathoms were marked. Here they lay-to for the night. The sails had been furled, and the men were disposing themselves to rest, when the cry was raised that they were on the rocks again. The current had been at work. On sounding eighty fathoms were found, and a double bent of cable had to be employed for instant anchoring. This was no sooner done than the fog partially cleared for a space. The anchors were weighed, the boats manned, and the ships taken in tow; every means being employed to double the Queen's Foreland. 'Many times,' says one, 'God lent us at the very pinch one prosperous breath of wind or other whereby to

double the land and avoid the peril; and when that we were all without hope of help, every man recommending himself to death, and crying out, "Lord, now help or never; now, Lord, look down from heaven and save us sinners, or else our safety cometh too late," even then the mighty Maker of Heaven and our merciful God did deliver us; so that they who had been partakers of these dangers do even in their souls confess that God even by miracle hath sought to save them, whose name be praised evermore.'

Next day they succeeded in rounding the point, and arrived at the entrance to Frobisher's Straits.

Two or three days previous to this the admiral had observed an opening in the coast-line just west of the Queen's Foreland, and he had commanded the 'Gabriel' to sail up and try to force a passage by the channel into the true Straits. So the first sight that gladdened the remnant of the fleet on arriving in the Straits was the little 'Gabriel' sailing in to the westward of them. Thus the Queen's Foreland was demonstrated to be an island. The bark, having had orders to make for the Countess's Sound, went gallantly forward among the ice. Frobisher commanded the 'Aid' to be sailed after her; but owing to the greater length of the flag-ship she was unable to wind along the devious openings among the floes, and was forced to put back to sea again.

Less than half the fleet had accompanied the admiral up the mistaken Straits. Christopher Hall, in the 'Thomas Allin,' had persuaded Captain Yorke that the admiral was in error as to his supposed locality; and on Hall's return from the 'Aid,' where he had left Frobisher in that towering rage, he determined on something like mutiny. He took advantage of the first thickening of the fog to part from the fleet and shape his course to the north-east.

Captain Best, in the 'Ann Frances,' had made an honest endeavour to keep his admiral's company, but had been parted by the mist. Their story was, that finding themselves out of sight of every sail, they had of their own resolution determined to put out to sea until the sky cleared for an observation—a remark that shows few of the mariners, if any, were really mistaken as to their position, after the first hesitation, but were rather hiding their convictions in deference to the admiral's wish.

When the 'Ann Frances' undertook to carry out their resolution it was found to be no easy matter. The never-ceasing repetition of the contest with ice in a bewildering fog recurred. Their danger was, many times, so great that the men sprang out into the chains and along the channels ready to leap on to the island of ice that threatened to overwhelm them. In the intervals between each such escape they busied themselves in making buoys out of their chests. And since the boat would not hold half their company they constructed a raft out of the hatches, which they proposed to lade with their goods and themselves and tow ashore by means of the ship's boat. Had they been forced to that extremity, the captain of the 'Ann Frances' remarks, 'they should either have perished for lack of food to eat or else should themselves have been eaten of those ravenous, bloody, and men-eating people.' For twenty days this struggle with momentary peril had been carried on. But when Frobisher returned to the mouth of the true Straits on July 23 the 'Ann Frances' fell in with his reduced fleet of seven ships, and 'hailed the admiral after the manner of the sea, and with great joy welcomed one another with a thundering volley of shot.'

Next day the 'Francis of Foy,' after having been for some time enclosed in the ice, fought her way out and

joined the fleet. She too had a long story of dangers passed. She had left the 'Thomas Allin' with the 'Gabriel' farther up the Straits in danger of ice on a lee shore; whereupon the narrator introduces a prayer for their safety, saying, 'God deliver them, for his blessed Son Jesus Christ's sake.'

In the meantime Christopher Hall, in the 'Thomas Allin,' had been plying to and fro at the mouth of the Straits. He had shown Captain Yorke and Mr. Gibbs all the landmarks of the southern headland; then he had sailed across and done the same with respect to the North Foreland, convincing them of what everybody believed. He had made three attempts to reach his port, but each time had been compelled to beat a hasty retreat for the open sea. The fourth attempt, accompanied by the 'Francis of Foy,' he made along the southern shore, and was just entering the Straits as the 'Gabriel' emerged from the newly-discovered channel behind the Queen's Foreland. The master of the 'Gabriel' conveyed to them the intelligence of the admiral's locality, and so the 'Francis of Foy' made the best of her way to the fleet.

The 'Busse of Bridgwater,' so she reported, had been in their company many days, but was now missing. When last seen she was in extreme necessity; but they of the 'Francis of Foy,' owing to their own dangers and the ice intervening, could render her no help; so they greatly feared her fate was sealed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

When this intelligence concerning the state of matters up the Straits became known in the fleet, there was general discontent bordering on mutiny. It was only about a month since they had spent that awful night in this very place; and from that time until the present moment they had been living on the very brink of eternity. And at last their courage broke down. With the majority of them it was only physical and nervous exhaustion.

When therefore the general proposed another encounter with the ice many 'considerate men' exhibited fear, and murmured against their commander. Some pleaded for delay, so that they might partially repair their ships; and in the meantime there was the probability of the wind shifting and driving out the ice. Others yielded to abject terror, and broke out into open mutiny, saying 'that they had as lieve be hanged when they came home as without hope of safety to seek to pass and so perish among the ice.' It would have amounted to the same thing in the end had they reversed their ignoble speech and said they had as lieve perish in the ice as get hanged when they returned home.

Frobisher was learning the difficulty of dealing with the crews of chartered ships. Comprehending the danger to the expedition, he said little. He professed to be persuaded by those who had craved a short season of rest in some harbour where repairs might be done and his men's energies refreshed. So he took up with a report which the 'Francis of Foy' had brought him, and which was to the effect that Christopher Hall during the period of waiting had discovered a gold mine and a harbour in one of the

islands off the Queen's Foreland. The admiral's pinnace was got ready to go and examine the mine and harbour, wherein he promised his nine ships they should anchor until the Straits were clear.

While the fleet was lying off and on awaiting the return of the admiral, a sudden gale sprang up from the SSE., sweeping in the ice from the outer sea, and once again there was a hurried race for open water. Those ships that were caught and enclosed in the floes fared best this time, for they escaped the fury of the storm, which broke farther out to sea. The chief peculiarity of this gale was that a heavy fall of snow came down, so thickly that no man could hold his eyes open to handle the ropes or to keep a look-out. The alternate heat and cold during the snow-storm wetted the sailors through, so 'that he that had five or six shifts of apparel had scarce one dry thread to his back.' The wetting and freezing bred much sickness and greatly discouraged the crews.

Next day, the admiral and those ships which with him had been caught in the ice escaped and rejoined their friends out at sea.

The day following, being July 27, the 'Busse of Bridgwater,' reported in a hopeless condition by the 'Francis of Foy,' struggled out of the ice and joined the fleet. She too had a dismal tale to tell; but, what was of more immediate importance, her master reported her to be so leaky that she must at once be taken to harbour or sink. Her bows were stove in, and all their labour had barely succeeded in keeping her afloat so long. The crew were making three hundred strokes an hour at the pumps, and were now in so exhausted a condition that they craved help from the other ships. It was clearly impossible, they said, to reach their port at the Countess of Warwick's Sound.

About this time Frobisher formed a desperate project.

He was determined to overawe the mutinous crews and reach his port speedily, for he perceived that the summer would soon be gone. 'The general, not opening his ears to the peevish passion of any private person,' cast away all thoughts of safety and regard for the life either of himself or of any man in the fleet, and made ready for the execution of his desperate resolve. He ordered all the cannon on board to be loaded with shot. Then the command was given to every ship to shape her course up the Straits, the general giving it out that, in case they came to the worst and must needs perish in the ice, he would open fire and sink every ship of the fleet; 'and with this peal of ordnance' he would 'receive an honorable knell, instead of a better burial, esteeming it more happy so to end his life, rather than himself, or any of his company, or any one of Her Majesty's ships should become a prey or spectacle to those base, bloody and man-eating people.'

On the 29th, therefore, Frobisher led the way in the 'Aid,' and pushed on desperately all that day, 'in at one gap and out at another,' still calling on the fleet to follow. 'We,' says Thomas Ellis, 'mutually consented to our valiant general once again to give the onset.' They had come to look upon it as a hand-to-hand conflict between a Christian band of Crusaders and diabolically enchanted fogs and floes.

The admiral's determined valour was crowned with success. Next day the entrance into the Countess's Sound was reached. But the wind at that moment dying away, the fleet became stationary, and Frobisher, having entered his pinnace, rowed in towards their old anchorage under the Countess's Island. As he drew nigh his long-fought-for port the masts of two ships came in view. They were there before him. Drawing still nearer he made them out to be the 'Michael' and 'Judith,' which had been given

up as lost a month before during the first great battle at the mouth of the Straits. There was much burning of powder, to serve the double purpose of expressing joy and announcing to the stationary fleet in the offing that some of the missing ships were before them in port. Those on board the fleet, having given up the 'Michael' and 'Judith' for lost at their first disappearance, supposed the ships to be the 'Thomas Allin' and the 'Gabriel.'

CHAPTER XXXII.

As soon as the admiral had come on board the 'Judith' he sent back Charles Jackman in the pinnace to pilot the fleet into port. When he reached the ships it was a dead calm. While waiting for the wind the officers of the 'Aid' took the pilot into the cabin, to partake of their hospitality, giving strict injunctions to the boatswain to keep a sharp look-out for drifting ice. Frobisher's ship usually fared worse in calms than in the tempest; the feeling of security giving rise to negligence. The watch took the order as a matter of course, and within a few minutes a large fragment of a floe drifted down and lodged on the hawse of the anchor cable. All hands were at once engaged in removing the ice; but for a quarter of an hour it resisted all their efforts and chafed at their hempen cable, placing the ship in imminent peril of falling on a lee shore. The floe having been eventually removed, the officers once more retired to the cabin; and then occurred on board the 'Aid' a little controversy sufficiently ludicrous to have been passed over silence; but since it is recorded by the chief actor in t, his conduct doubtless

appeared dignified in his own eyes; and since it afterwards had some bearing on the charges brought against the admiral, it is mentioned here.

A certain Edward Sellman was a gentleman passenger on board the 'Aid'—a man who evidently thought himself possessed of some literary ability, but whose capacity with the pen was justly estimated by Frobisher when he subsequently appointed him Notary of Meta Incognita. Master Sellman was striding it solitarily on the quarter-deck of the 'Aid' at this particular moment. The officers having retired and left him alone in his dignity, he took it upon him to give Holmes, the quartermaster, and Hill, the boatswain, a sound lecture on their neglect of duty. The two petty officers liked this meddling very little, and showed small patience with the amateur captain. So when he was done they recommended him to meddle with his own affairs. When he would have retorted they demanded to see his commission to command the ship. Having bantered Master Sellman thus, they assumed authority which they did not possess, for they ordered him to his cabin. In this, he says, he defied them, adding bravely that he would retire to his cabin when he saw fit. They then abused him very much; and this upbraiding he was compelled to hear, since he had not yet seen fit to draw out of earshot. Master Sellman thus paid the penalty of engaging in a quarrel with men who had a vocabulary at their command which, for various reasons, he could not employ.

The notary's narrative was dedicated to Michael Lock on the return from the third voyage, and the writer doubtless knew what the merchant wanted. So in this part of his story he is able to give Lock a foundation for some of the items in the Indictment of Abuses and at the same time to show that his own interference with the warrant officers was necessary. 'The captain of the "Aid,"' he

adds, 'can bear no rule amongst them, because he is not countenanced by the general, and therefore all things hath fallen out the worse with us, and that hath caused me to speak more earnestly in this cause; for whether the boatswain nor any officer yet hitherto hath been obedient to the master, and the disobedience of the officers doth cause the company also to disobey and neglect their duties.' If these charges were true, then Master Sellman was possessed of a singular amount of self-confidence to suppose that he could succeed where the captain and master had failed.

The fleet had now been lying at anchor about two hours, and the future notary was still pacing the deck, when the expected breeze sprang up, and the ice began to get in motion. The master's mate came up and joined him, to whom the amateur mariner now volunteered his advice. 'I said to him it were good to weigh our anchor to prevent the danger of the ice.' What the mate thought of this meddling or what answer he made is not told. Perhaps he felt the annoyance which comes of being counselled to do what one has already determined on doing. The wind gradually increased, and Jackman, the pilot, was called on deck. He at once ordered the anchor to be weighed and sail made. The anchor was hanging a-cock-bill, as the sailors term it—that is, from the cathead and almost touching the water—but, before it could be catted or properly secured on board, the ship was under way. The next moment a considerable iceberg drifted across her course and drove the fluke of the anchor through the bows of the 'Aid' just below the water-line. The water at once rushed in, and so great was the leak that 'we had water in hold four feet above the ceiling within an hour or less.' The notary seems to have derived much pleasure from recording this grievous consequence of ne-

glecting his advice. Into the leak were thrust 'beef and other provisions,' while the crew toiled at the pumps and also with buckets from midnight until nine in the morning, when the anchor was let go in the port of the Countess's Sound. The 'Aid' was presently tilted and the hole mended with lead.

There were now nine ships of the fleet anchored together under the Countess's Island, and a general thanksgiving to God was proclaimed, 'and all together upon their knees gave Him due, humble and hearty thanks.' Master Wolfall, who had been appointed by the Privy Council to be the minister and preacher of the fleet, delivered a sermon in which he exhorted them to gratitude to God; then he reminded them of the uncertainty of human life, persuading them to be ready to receive with joy whatever Divine Providence should appoint.

Captain Best draws us a picture of the Elizabethan missionary, who by two centuries anticipated any organised Protestant effort for the conversion of the heathen.

'This Master Wolfall being well seated and settled at home in his own country, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the only care he had to save souls, and to reform those infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity; and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage so well begun might be brought to perfection; and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole year if occasion had served, being in every necessary action as the resolutest men of all. Wherefore in this behalf he may rightly be called a true pastor and minister of God's word, which for the profit of his flock spared not to venture his own life.' In that early age Englishmen had recognised that to make

voyages of discovery perfect there must be provision for evangelising the natives. And subsequent experience has proved that the most productive investments ever made have been the sums expended on missionary efforts, since Christianity brings civilisation, civilisation creates commerce, and the commerce of the Christianised natives has always gone to the land of the missionaries.

While remembrance was had of a kind Providence, Frobisher was not forgetful of police and sanitary regulations. On August 2 instructions were published with sound of trumpet that none were to go ashore without leave, and those who had leave were to have no dealing with the natives without informing the general. No private assay was to be made of any ore. No one, by sea or land, was to make use of any 'discovered speeches,' swearing, brawling, or cursing, upon pain of imprisonment; no one was to draw his weapon in quarrel, on pain of losing his right hand. No one was to wash his hands or any article in the spring upon the Countess's Island; 'and for the better preservation and health of every man' detailed directions were given as to the observance of cleanliness, upon pain for the first offence of being 'imprisoned in the bilbows' fourteen hours, and for the second offence of paying twelve pence. And among other fit instructions was included an order that no person should cast into the roadstead any ballast or rubbish that might impair the same.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The 'Michael' and 'Judith,' under Captain Fenton, lieutenant-general, had their own story to tell. From the time they were locked in the ice, about July 1, until

the 25th they never saw one day or hour during which they were not in continual danger and fear of death. For twenty of those days they were, almost continuously, frozen firmly in the ice. The 'Judith' had been stricken through and through on both sides. The false stem of the 'Michael' had been carried entirely away.

In their utmost extremity their brave minister, Master Wolfall, proved their deliverer; for when both ships had been, as was thought, completely crushed and on the point of joining the 'Dennis' at the bottom of the Straits, the men gave up in despair, whereupon Master Wolfall called them all to prayer, setting before them their danger and their duty towards God in such extremity. Then he exhorted them to hope and good courage. This exhortation was acted upon by the captain and master, who called upon their crews to man the channels once more with pikes and oars against the ice that pressed upon the ships like a living foe. The words of the minister and the example of the officers reanimated all, and in a few hours they had fought their way into a temporary opening.

While they were enclosed they found they could walk from island to island of ice for miles on either side, and even as far as the land. When not altogether fast their favourite device was to run under the lee of the largest iceberg available and make fast to it. When this showed signs of breaking up they would hasten to hide under another. Whenever the ice was much broken they would allow their ship to drift slowly down, until her bows touched; then they set all sail. The floe thus acted as a fender in front and swept the water clear of the lesser fragments. They thus formed as it were a lake in which temporary sea-room was found; and then they would lie-to among 'sundry mountains and Alps of ice.' One of these they measured and found to be sixty-five fathoms above water. Their esti-

mate was that icebergs extended eight times as much below water as above, so that this would be nearly three-quarters of a mile perpendicularly. From a certain imagined resemblance they called this 'Solomon's Porch.'

Captain Best seems to fear that his readers will throw some doubt over the accuracy of this story, and therefore supports it with certain experiences of his own. He had seen men walking, running, shooting upon the sea forty miles from land. Still more strange, there were some among his company who had got on the ice and amused themselves in running races, shooting at bolts, and killing seals with their calivers. They had seen the melting ice come down in sundry streams, which, meeting together, made a pretty brook able to drive a mill, and flowed into the salt sea a hundred miles from land.

Captain Fenton had brought the two vessels into the Countess's Sound ten days before the arrival of the admiral. As soon as some repairs had been made on his sinking ship he had gone ashore searching for ore. His success was great, and the mine on account of its richness was called 'Fenton's Fortune.' He had made a journey ten miles up the country and found no signs of natives or habitation. He had next made an examination of his provisions, and determined upon the necessity of departing homeward after seven days, should none of the fleet appear.

On August 2, the 'Gabriel' arrived in the Sound, having Christopher Hall on board, and told how they had companied with the 'Thomas Allin' for eight days making fruitless efforts to cross over the Straits from Mount Oxford, where they had been anchored; how they had seen the fleet passing up towards the Sound, but had been unable to join it; and how the pilot had left his ship at anchor on the southern side.

The admiral had now with him all his ships save the 'Dennis,' 'Thomas Allin,' 'Moon,' 'Thomas of Ipswich,' and 'Ann Frances.' He saw not an hour was to spare. All the gentlemen, soldiers, and miners, with their victuals, tents, and tools, were landed on the Countess's Island. Consultations were continually held between the admiral and his council. A muster of all the men and a close survey of all the provisions were made, and everybody set to work. The mariners plied their task of repairing, the captains sought out new mines, the gold-finders made trial of the ore, and 'the gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and honestly encouraged the inferior sort to work.'

A week after their arrival, and while the work of getting in the ore was progressing rapidly, the admiral brought the subject of the colony before his council. They first of all perused the bills of lading, and found that, owing to the sinking of the 'Dennis,' the north and west sides of the fort were lost. Of the other two sides many parts were missing, the timbers having been used as fenders in their battles with the ice and shivered in pieces. In the next place they learned that there were not sufficient food and drink to provision the fort for a hundred men. On this Captain Fenton, who was to have command of the colony, offered to inhabit the fort with sixty men. The carpenters and masons were now called before the council, and asked how long it would take them to so alter the timbers and set them up as to contain the reduced company of sixty. Their answer was, eight or nine weeks. Whereupon the admiral pointed out that twenty-six days more must be the extreme limit of their stay on that coast. The deliberate resolve of the council on learning these facts was that no colony could be established there that year and thus sixty brave men were beyond doubt saved from un-

timely death. Master Sellman, the notary, was instructed to set down this decree 'for the better satisfying of Her Majesty, the Lords of the Council, and the adventurers.'

There is no evidence that the meddlesome notary ever obeyed the council's command, for no decree appears in his narrative. Such a document would have disproved two of the abuses charged against the admiral: namely, how that he had become jealous of Captain Fenton and would give no jot of assistance to establish the colony even for fifty men; and how that he had refused all conference during his stay in Meta Incognita, laughing at the notion that the Queen had appointed him a council.

Day by day, new mines were being explored and ore transported in pinnaces to the ships, Black ore and red ore were stowed away in the holds, and the English greed for gold seemed destined to find satiety at last.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

When Frobisher was making his valiant and successful charge through the ice to regain his port three ships were separated from the fleet. These were the 'Ann Frances,' 'Moon,' and 'Thomas of Ipswich,' and each of them was separated from the others. For the next week the 'Ann Frances' disconsolately plied to and fro at the mouth of the Straits. At the close of that period the 'Thomas' joined company with her. She too had been beating up and down in the rough weather. Subsequently they sighted and came up with the 'Moon.' In a short time a gale sprang up and carried the 'Thomas' out of sight. The other two, still keeping company, fought against wind

and ice to no purpose. Whenever the wind veered around to the favourable points of south or east it invariably brought up a dense fog, in which they dared not venture on entering the Straits.

After three more days of this experience they found themselves a few leagues up the Straits and becalmed. They were lying opposite the channel behind the Queen's Foreland, through which the 'Gabriel' had sailed with such peril. Whenever the tide and current coincided there was such an inrush through this channel that they were more helplessly exposed to the perils of the ice than ever before. The 'Ann Frances' and 'Moon' now became separated, and each gave up all hope. Those on board the former were too far away to hear the signal guns which the 'Thomas' and 'Moon' were firing; and had they heard they were powerless to render any assistance, for themselves had despaired of life as often before. The 'Moon' was here nipped and heaved completely out of the water. The other two ships were about the same time struck quite through and had their false stems carried away.

While they were almost all possessed with the one thought of returning home, Captain Best, of the 'Ann Frances,' succeeded in opening communication between the ships, and invited their commanders to come over for consultation. With the returning boat there came Captain Tanfield, of the 'Thomas,' with Richard Cox, his pilot; also Captain Upcote, of the 'Moon,' with John Lakes, her master. This was on August 8.

The mariners passed in review the various features of their perilous condition. There was but a short interval between them and the return of winter; already, indeed, the rigging of the ships was every night so covered with ice that a man could not lay hold of a rope without cutting his hands. The fleet had disappeared, and no man knew

whither. That it could have reached its port was impossible, from the evidences which they had before them; —perhaps it was already on its way home. Thus the more timid argued in favour of returning. There were present some who went so far as to say that they would not again tempt God, who had given them so many deliverances, by making another effort to reach the Countess's Sound; and that they preferred losing wages, freight and all, to continue following such desperate fortunes. And even before the resolution to seek their native land could be put in execution their ships were so leaky and the men so weary, 'that to amend the one and refresh the other they must of necessity seek into harbor.'

On the other side it was argued that to enter any of the inlets thereabouts was only to submit themselves to greater dangers, as they had already had experience. And were they not all aware that the sea-bottom was of the same character as the land, a series of hills, dales, and ragged rocks, so that sounding would give no guess of what the depth might be the next moment? For many times they had found a hundred fathoms depth, and before the next cast they would be aground, to their utter confusion. Again, there was no knowing but that they might be frozen up, did they reach a harbour; for did not the water freeze around the ships each night already?

After long discussion of the matter Captain Best delivered his opinion, which was that it would be dishonourable to return; that by such a course they would lay themselves open to the charge of cowardice; and what would be their position when asked on their return what had become of the fleet and their general? For himself he would rather fall into any danger than return so shamefully. Having thus appealed to their pride and sense of duty, he reminded them that he had on board the ready-

fitted timbers of a five-ton pinnace, intended for the use of the colony, and declared that if means could be found to join them together he would go in her and decide the question of the practicability of reaching the Countess's Sound.

Those of the contrary opinion yielded so far as to consent to postpone their return until this experiment was tried, but insisted on putting into harbour in the meantime. Captain Best found an argument for yielding in his own humanity. Who knows, thought he, but in some neighbouring cove may be discovered a disabled ship or a wrecked crew, whose salvation might depend on their putting in? Moreover, why might there not be as good ore found on this side the Straits as the other? For ore they had come thither, and the purpose of the voyage would be as well served by loading near Queen's Foreland as in the Countess's Sound. Even if these ends would not be furthered by harbouring here he was determined not to return until the very last moment.

It was therefore decided that the three ships should keep company, 'and as true Englishmen and faithful friends should supply one another's want in all fortunes and dangers.' Next morning each ship was to send her boat with a skilful pilot to search out and sound for a harbour, wherein being anchored they might put together the five-ton pinnace for Captain Best's intended voyage to the Countess's Sound.

All gave their consent outwardly to this decision, but one with mental reservations. During the discussions of this council on board the 'Ann Frances,' Captain Tanfield had taken Captain Best aside and whispered him that he greatly suspected Cox, his pilot; that in his opinion the man had neither honesty, manhood, nor constancy. That night the captain of the 'Thomas' had his suspicions verified.

CHAPTER XXXV.

EARLY next morning, the crews of the 'Ann Frances' and 'Moon' began busying themselves to get out the boats for the examination of the coast; but when the day had fully come it was perceived that the 'Thomas of Ipswich' was nowhere in sight, and not until their return to England did they learn anything of the fate of that ship. During the night Richard Cox, the pilot, had won over the crew to abandon the expedition and return; so, in the darkness, and while Captain Tanfield slept, they had silently stolen away. The wonder is, considering the experience of other discoverers of that period, that Frobisher had succeeded so long in retaining the services of any ship except that of Her Majesty. On reaching England Captain Tanfield was brought before the Lords of the Privy Council, charged with desertion; but after due examination it was proved that Cox was the sole cause of this the only blot on the honour of the expedition. Thomas Bonham, the owner of the runaway ship, afterwards sent in a petition in which he claimed freight for the voyage; and in support of his claim very justly alleged that inasmuch as the ship was his, and had been furnished by him at an expense of 300*l.*, and Cox, the pilot, was the officer of the Company of Cathay, it was unreasonable that he should be made to suffer for the malfeasances of another's servant. Considering the state of the finances of the Company at that time, it is more than probable that Thomas Bonham did suffer by the cowardice of Richard Cox.

Captain Best's plans were in no way disturbed by the falling away of the 'Thomas.' Accompanied by the skiff of the 'Moon,' he left the two ships under sail lying off

and on, and rowed towards the land. Many inlets, creeks, and coves under Hatton's Headland were examined. While all were found to be full of many dangers, there was one sound which, though but an indifferent place, might, they thought, serve their purpose. To make doubly sure they went through and around it a second time, carefully sounding it in every part. Close by the bay was a great black island; to this Captain Best crossed and landed. Having walked a short distance back from the shore he was struck by what he saw, and at once called all the company to him, who, when they arrived, 'found such plenty of the black ore of the same sort which was brought into England this last year, that if the goodness might answer the great plenty thereof, it was thought it might reasonably suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world.' The sailors, with the century's love for alliteration, at once named the island 'Best's Blessing,' and hastened back to the ships wtih the good tidings, on the receipt of which on board there was a great and sudden reaction, their despair giving way to the wildest joy.

The next day was August 10, the weather reasonably fair, when an entrance into the harbour was attempted. The pinnace of the 'Ann Frances' went in advance, sounding as she went, with the ships following very slowly and cautiously. Yet for all their care, and though the boat passed backwards and forwards along the entrance more than once, sounding every fathom of the course, the 'Ann Frances' came aground just within the harbour. The tide was running out at the time, and the ship was gradually careening over, when the mainyard was hastily unrigged and the ship underset with it. During the ebb she thus lay half out of water, and very great anxiety was naturally felt as to the height of the next tide. But as

the flood set in 'by God's Almighty Providence, contrary almost to all expectation,' she rose and floated off. The ship was leaking at nearly every seam, so they had to apply all their strength to the pumps, and had 'above two thousand strokes' before they could get the mastery over the water. The 'Moon' had entered without mishap, and was riding safely at anchor beside her consort, affording such help as proved the means of saving the grounded ship. So after nearly three months of buffetings and hourly perils they were at last at rest in comparative safety.

As on the arrival of Frobisher and the fleet at the Countess's Sound, so here it was now the work of the mariners to make repairs, of the miners to gather the ore and load the ships. At the same time the carpenters began the construction of the pinnace. Her timbers were brought out from the hold of the 'Ann Frances'; but the knees could nowhere be found. Whether they had been forgotten in England, or been used as fenders in the ice, and so perished, could not be made out. In the next place, it was discovered that they had no nails, and how to fasten the planks without them was beyond their ingenuity. To make nails they needed anvil, hammer, bellows, iron, and a smith. Out of this series of difficulties a series of accidents and inventions delivered them. A blacksmith was found among the miners, a gun-chamber was transformed into an anvil, a pickaxe into a hammer, the tongs, gridiron, and fire shovel were broken up for nail-rods, and two hand-bellows working with alternate stroke supplied a steady current of air for the fire. It seems they had to give up hope of supplying the other want, and to construct the pinnace without knees.

Having thus set everybody at work on the very first day of their arrival, Captain Best on the morrow took

with him the master of the 'Ann Frances' and a fe men and ascended to the top of Hatton's Headland, which he had so named the year before, after that Lord Chancellor who is noted in history as having literally danced himself into the Queen's favour, and is best remembered by that Naboth's vineyard—Hatton Garden—which Her Majesty easily transferred from the Bishop of Ely to her nimble-footed favourite.

During their walk up the mountain Captain Best kept his eyes open to the discovery of ore, of which he found plenty, besides 'divers pretty stones.' From the top a bird's-eye view was gained of the ice in the Straits.

While he was awaiting the completion of his pinnace he took some men once more ashore, and this time to capture a white bear which they had caught sight of. It was a task not so easily accomplished as was expected, for the bear turned and attacked twenty armed men, putting them in some danger before it was slain. The carcase 'served them for good meat for many days.'

On the eighth day after their anchoring in this sound the pinnace was finished and afloat. The captain and his crew were making ready to step into her when the carpenter, her chief constructor, was overheard saying that 'he would not adventure himself therein for 500*l.*' Many of the men intended for her crew, hearing this, drew back. Captain Best on learning the cause at once took precautions against an adverse issue of the voyage. He dreaded the croakings of the prophets of evil more than the dangers of the sea. For, thought he, should the pinnace sink with him, those people who are always seers after the event, who in every catastrophe detect the due reward of some antecedent sin, and in every good fortune simple unmerited blessing, would exclaim, 'Lo, he hath followed his own opinion and desperate resolution, and so thereafter it is

befallen him.' He therefore called together the master and mariners of judgment, placing before them how necessary it was he should find the general and have an assay made of the ore. It would never do for them to load their ships with untested mineral, lest when they returned they should be told that they had gone across the seas and fought a hundred tempests only to bring home a cargo of stones. Therefore let their collective judgment be given whether the pinnace was or was not sufficient for him to make this adventure in. Their answer was cautiously guarded, yet reassuring. With very great care the pinnace might suffice. John Gray, master's mate of the 'Ann Frances,' at once 'manfully and honestly' volunteered to accompany his captain in the boat. His example had its effect—many mariners immediately offered to run the risks, and the pinnace was fully manned.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

On August 19, which was nine days after their arrival under Hatton's Headland, the pinnace, duly found and provisioned, having Captain Best, Captain Upcote, and a crew of eighteen men on board, departed for the Countess's Sound, leaving the ships and miners under the charge of the master of the 'Ann Frances,' of whom a high opinion was entertained. There was but little wind moving, and so they rowed steadily north-westwards along the southern shore, intending to reach a point above the Countess's Sound, then run across the Straits, and so gain their port. By following this course Captain Best had two objects in view. Should their frail bark perish they could retreat

overland to their ships; and should any of their countrymen have been cast away on that shore 'and driven to seek some salads among the cold cliffs,' succour might be rendered them. Thus, as they rowed, a sharp look-out was kept for any signal along the shore.

Having advanced on this course for about forty leagues without any experience except toil and watchfulness, they sought to cross over to the northern shore. In the middle of the Strait, and opposite them, lay Gabriel's Island, on which they had counted for a night's refuge. Arrived near this island they were caught by a sudden flaw of wind of no great violence; but, having little confidence in their kneeless and hollow pinnace, which was held together only by the strength of the rudely improvised nails, they feared to risk one buffet, and ran in among the rocks for shelter and landed. Here they found 'certain great stones set up by the country people, as it seemed for marks, where they also made many crosses of stone, in token that Christians had been there.'

Next day the northern shore was reached. Captain Best went ashore and climbed a high promontory, from which he made out the coast-line of the Countess's Sound lying far away to the east. They had thus overshot their destination. The course of the pinnace was now shaped along the northern shore in that direction. They had not proceeded far when, on rounding a headland, they saw a column of smoke rising under a hill within the bay. Various surmises were ventured as they rowed cautiously towards the place. Presently there were descried people signalling to them by the waving of an ensign. Captain Best had seen the natives do the same thing the year before. Drawing still nearer they made out the colours on the flag and knew it to be English. They saw tents too; but since there was no ship in sight, and no harbour

within five or six leagues, they hardly knew what to make of these things. Some one on board suggested—a guess that was quickly caught up by all—that a wreck had taken place here; that the natives had murdered the crew and possessed themselves of the means by which they were now seeking to inveigle the pinnace to share a similar fate. When this view had been universally accepted the captain and his company adopted a valiant but rash resolution for people in their condition; it was nothing less than to land, attack the natives, and recapture the colours from 'those base people or else lose their lives and all together.'

The pinnace was now rapidly rowed in with a view of carrying out this resolve. Before long it was discovered that those on shore were Englishmen, whom the others at once concluded to be the crew of some wrecked ship; while our countrymen on land supposed the pinnace to be the boat of some vessel lost in the ice. Thus each party was filled with gladness at being so placed as to be in readiness to succour the other. Captain Best well knew of what poor human nature is capable under the pressure of panic. He therefore thought it prudent under the supposed circumstances to direct his men to set him ashore alertly and keep the pinnace well out, lest a rush should be made in the base endeavour to escape at the cost of their rescuers, 'for every man, in that case, is next himself,' remarks the discreet mariner.

When the pinnace had come within speaking distance of those on shore each party hailed the other after the manner of the sea, shouting, 'What cheer?' To which came the answer from either side, 'All is well!' 'Whereupon there was a joyful outshoot, with great flinging up of caps and a brave volley of shot to welcome one another. And truly it was a most strange case to see how joyful and glad every party was to see themselves meet in safety again

after so great and incredible dangers; yet, to be short, as their dangers were great, so their God was greater.'

It proved that the party found ashore were gathering ore at what they had called the Countess of Sussex Mine, and were under the command of Captain Yorke. After some conference, the pinnace resumed her voyage towards the Countess's Sound to have speech with the general and an assay made of the ore with which the 'Moon' and 'Ann Frances' were being loaded, and a sample of which they had brought with them. That same evening the fleet was reached, and a report made to the admiral of all that had happened since their separation from him.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

It will be remembered that Christopher Hall had come over to the fleet in the 'Gabriel,' leaving the 'Thomas Allin' on the other side of the Straits. Having remained with the admiral about a week, he put back again in the faithful bark. Three days he was baffled by mists, gales, and calms; but on the morning of the fourth a boat came to the 'Gabriel' from the 'Thomas Allin' and took the chief pilot to his own ship. Next day Hall brought the two ships into the Countess's Sound. Thus, leaving out the sunk 'Dennis' and the deserted 'Thomas of Ipswich,' all the ships of the fleet had arrived in port save the 'Moon' and 'Ann Frances,' which were as usefully situated as if they too had joined the fleet.

The ore at the Countess's Island was soon exhausted. Boats and pinnaces were therefore despatched in every direction, and brought back both samples and loads from

newly-discovered mines, which extended from the Countess of Sussex Mine, in the west, to Beare's Sound, in the east. The work of freighting the ships went on prosperously all through the month of August.

Deaths had begun to take place. Notary Sellman makes the two following entries for the same day:—

'The 16 said, the general and Denham with him is gone to a sound called Dyer's Passage, which is upon the southern land of the Countess's Sound, to view a mine there found by Andrew Dyer, and to make assays thereof.

'The said. God called to his mercy Philip, who had charge of certain apparel brought in by the general for the mariners and miners, and also one of the bark "Dennis". men called Trelos, one also out of the "Armonell," and another out of the "Francis of Foy," all buried upon Winter's Furnace this present day.'

Three days afterwards the notary had an opportunity of continuing the tale of his hard treatment and of recording the further mutinous conduct of the warrant officers owing to the general's lax discipline. Captain Fenton lodged a complaint against the boatswain and other petty officers of the 'Aid,' to the effect that they had disobeyed him two several times; and he therefore looked to the general to have them severely punished, says Master Sellman. The general character of Frobisher is that he was over-strict in his discipline, though at the same time very fond of his men, and careful for their welfare. And since he paid little heed to this complaint there is much reason for inferring that it must have been of a trivial character. But Captain Fenton grew heated, says the notary, at seeing the admiral's indifference, and made some reference to his patrons at Court. At this foolish remark Frobisher lost his temper, retorting in the same imprudent spirit, and saying that himself had pro-

cured the lieutenant his appointment. Fenton replied, in an insubordinate tone, 'that the general did not well to rob them that did prefer them both to that service,' and passionately flung himself out of the general's presence, murmuring as he went that his commander had offered him great disgrace, and animated the men against him.

Captain Best was one of the general's council; so the next day after his arrival in the five-ton pinnace the admiral called his advisers together to hear Captain Fenton's complaints. There were present the general, the lieutenant-general, Captains Yorke and Best, Christopher Hall and Charles Jackman, pilots. The general declined to have any voice in the matter, referring the whole affair to his colleagues. The boatswain of the 'Aid' and one Robinson were called up and charged. The offenders admitted the facts, but justified their disobedience by asserting that they had no knowledge of Captain Fenton's authority. Having since learned that he was lieutenant-general, they were sorry for their conduct. Doubtless there were so many amateur commanders on board the 'Aid' that the men were very naturally unwilling to obey any but their own officers. At any rate they were immediately pardoned, and Captain Fenton had his apology.

The council then proceeded to consider other matters, such as the question of the colony, the lading of the ships, the return of the fleet. But the notary had exhausted himself in giving the details of the miserable quarrel, and therefore could not put down these important discussions.

During the month Frobisher and Christopher Hall made more than one excursion for discovery together in their pinnace. In one of these they had ascended an eminence near Beare's Sound, and saw an open channel extending to the north-east sea, thus proving that Lock's

Land was an island. This discovery was subsequently the means of saving one of the ships of the fleet.

Next day, after the meeting of the council the admiral took two pinnaces, well manned, towards Beare's Sound again. Captain Best, in his five-ton pinnace, was commanded to join the party. The general's object was not discovery this time, but to capture some of the natives, who were continually showing themselves, and making threatening demonstrations against the miners employed in that locality. The pinnaces rowed around an island occupied by the Esquimaux with the view of surrounding it; but too late. The natives had fled at the first sign of danger, and the only thing taken was one of their great darts which had been overlooked in the hurry of departure.

This place was almost due north of Hatton's Headland, under which the 'Moon' and 'Ann Frances' lay at anchor: so Captain Best shaped his course south next day, with the view of rejoining his ship. The Straits were crossed without any mishap, and great was the joy at his return. The captain was equally gratified at learning that all had shown much diligence during his absence. Both ships were fully loaded and rigged ready for setting out. Inasmuch as the greatest number of the miners brought out was on board the 'Ann Frances,' that ship sailed to Beare's Sound, on her way to the Countess's Sound, to put the miners ashore. And finally, on August 28, the 'Moon' and her consort arrived at their port all ready for the return voyage. Only the 'Dennis' and 'Thomas of Ipswich' were now missing of the fifteen ships that had departed from England. While they were rejoicing at this victory over ice and storms, a sudden gale burst upon them from the east, accompanied with rain and snow, lasting for two days and nights. Thus they were reminded that the storms of spring no sooner passed away in these parts than

they were succeeded by the storms of autumn. The much-battered 'Ann Frances' received eight great leaks in this storm, so that Captain Best had no resource left but to run her ashore, which was done successfully and the leaks mended.

The masons and carpenters, who had been brought over to put up the intended fort, had been for some time engaged in constructing a small house of lime and stone upon the Countess's Island. And at the time that the 'Ann Frances' was put aground for repairs this house was completed. The object of erecting this structure was to make proof of the force of the frost and snow in winter. Within it were placed various trinkets, such as pipes, whistles, pictures of men and horses in lead, by which the good will of the natives was sought to be won. An attempt was also made to teach them a lesson in civilisation. Within the hut was built an oven, and to indicate the use of it some baked bread was placed in the inside. To win the natives from cannibalism it was thought to be only necessary to supply them with farinaceous food. To make experiment of the soil and seasons, pease, corn, and other grain were sown. Finally they buried the remaining timbers of the intended fort, together with many barrels of meal, pease, grist, etc., being the provision intended for the colony.

And then Master Wolfall preached a 'godly sermon' on Winter's Furnace, after which he administered the Communion. The celebration of divine mystery was the 'first sign, seal, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion ever known in all those quarters.' Often had the worthy divine administered the Sacrament on board the various ships, but never before on land. Perhaps it was the first Protestant administration on the American continent.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Frobisher, being satisfied with the progress which was made in the loading of ore, proposed to his council that some adventure for discovery should be undertaken. The general was urgent on this head; but his councillors gently and wisely pointed out that much had been done in that way already. The mistaken Straits had been traced above sixty leagues, and the hope of a passage to Cathay greatly increased thereby, so that it could not be said that there had been any neglect of discovery. Furthermore, the signs of approaching winter were too manifest to be winked out of sight. The ice formed around the ships every night; snow was continually falling; let but the winds be adverse for a week or two, and the fate of the whole expedition was for ever sealed. A further reason adduced, and apparently the most weighty, since it was reserved for the last, was, that drink was very scant throughout the whole fleet. One would have thought they had only to replenish their casks from the spring from the Countess's Island. But it is added, in proof of the correctness of the assertion, that 'many of our company, to their great grief, found it was true in their return since for all the way homewards they drank nothing but water.' This lack of stronger beverage is explained by the fact that the beer-barrels, placed under the timbers and sea-coal, had been broken and bruised and had their hoops rotted in sunder.

The general so far yielded as to order the captains and masters to look each to his own charge, but himself went towards Beare's Sound to make some further discovery of

the channel which he had seen from the mountain-top, extending between Lock's Land and the continent of Meta Incognita. (Yet one of the charges in the Indictment of Abuses is that he refused to make any effort for new discovery, in proof of which the testimony of Hall and Jackman is adduced, both of whom were members of the general's council). Having discovered that the lands in the neighbourhood of Beare's Sound were in the nature of an archipelago, Frobisher returned to the fleet, and immediately issued articles of direction for the return voyage. They were to keep company and speak the admiral once a day. No man was to take away any stone for his own use or to put one ashore before their arrival at Dartford Creek. Any captain falling into the hands of the enemy was to cast overboard all charts of the newly-discovered lands.

On the last day of August the fleet sailed away from the Countess's Sound; the 'Moon' and 'Ann Frances,' which had remained to take in fresh water, following and overtaking the fleet next day.

At Beare's Sound some work still remained to be completed. Several of the ships intended to finish their lading here, and chiefly the 'Gabriel,' 'Michael,' and 'Busse of Bridgwater.' The miners, too, who were working there belonged to various ships; so the fleet on arriving opposite Beare's Sound lay-to. The general went ashore to hasten the departure of the 'Busse' and two barks. Captain Best also went ashore in his five-ton pinnace to bring off the miners he had put down at this point when on his way from Hatton's Headland to the Countess's Sound.

The sea was calm at the time; but before long, Christopher Hall says, 'a great sea coming from the NW.,' he took the boats of the 'Aid' and rowed to the general, desiring him to come aboard at once, for he feared a

storm was indicated by that 'great sea.' Frobisher answered that he would be on board before night, and sent the chief pilot back with two pinnaces of ore to complete the 'Aid's' load. When this ore had been safely stowed, a storm broke from the west, putting the ships in danger of being driven on the south-western part of Lock's Land. With great toil and danger they set sail and cleared this peril. But they had at the same time placed themselves in a position where the first storm from the north or east would scatter the whole fleet. And that was the very misfortune that happened. Towards evening the wind fell to a dead calm; the 'Aid' dropped her anchor and hung out a light for a signal to Frobisher, whom they were expecting every moment. At midnight a sudden and terrible storm from the north swept down; the shank of the 'Aid's' anchor was instantly snapped, and Hall ran his ship to mid-channel, where he lay-to until daylight. The experience of the 'Aid' was similar to that of the greater number of the ships of the fleet. They were scattered in every direction. Some trusted to their anchors and were put in momentary peril. Captain Carew, of the 'Hopewell,' who thus rode out the night, said that he could not tell on which side the danger was greatest, for he had rocks threatening him on the one side and driving islands of ice on the other, drifting so close as to graze their bowsprit. During the storm there were lost twenty boats and pinnaces; many of the men were washed overboard and lost.

In the meantime Captain Best and his pinnace, with the admiral, the 'Busse' and two barks, found it impossible to put to sea. During that night of September 1 they lodged as best they could on board the ships; 'but their numbers were so great, and the provisions of the barks so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly.' The

hope of fair weather in the morning sustained their hearts while they were thus cribbed and confined; but the first look forth at the breaking of the dawn uprooted all their expectations. The storm was still increasing and the sea rising higher every hour, with not one sail of the fleet in view. A careful examination of their very serious position was at once made. In consequence of the large augmentation to their numbers by the coming of Frobisher and Best, the provisions would only suffice for six days. The admiral determined upon putting to sea in the 'Gabriel' without a moment's delay, that the fleet might be found and brought back for the succour of the others. The 'Busse' sought to follow the bark; but she lay so far to leeward of the harbour's mouth that this attempt only resulted in throwing her farther down, when all her anchors were instantly let go, and she swung in a very network of rocks. The 'Michael' had by this time made ready for the effort to follow in the course of the 'Gabriel.' The men of the 'Busse' called to them imploring help. The answer of the commander of the 'Michael' showed that the thing was impossible. Thus Captain Best had left only the choice of remaining with the 'Busse of Bridgwater,' of whose getting to sea again all seem to have given up hope, or else of setting out in search of the 'Ann Frances' in his frail pinnace. Having the hard election of these two evils, he prayed the captain of the 'Michael' to take him in tow. Notary Sellman, who delighted in representing every circumstance in an unfavourable aspect, and put every dishonour he could on those engaged in the expedition, says that the answer of the commander of the bark to this request was, that he would 'take the pinnace with her thirty men in tow; yet let them take heed to themselves, for the moment he saw the pinnace hindered his ship in doubling the point at the mouth of the harbour he would cut the tow-line

and let her go adrift.' Captain Best gives no hint of such a speech. He records with gratitude that the 'Michael,' being too small to take half his men aboard, consented to tow him out, which she did for many miles through the dangerous sea.

The master who had been left in charge of the 'Ann Frances' is on this, as on several former occasions, highly complimented by his captain. Though all the ships of the fleet had spooned away before the tempest, still 'the honest care' which the mariner had for Captain Best and his general 'suffered him not to depart, but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous road all the night long, and notwithstanding the stormy weather, when all the fleet besides departed.'

When the 'Michael,' with the pinnace in tow, had gone southward some miles the 'Ann Frances' was seen lying-to. Captain Best at once cast off the tow-line and shaped the course of the pinnace towards his ship. Coming alongside, the miners and mariners were quickly got on board, and as the last man mounted the ship's side, before any of the men's tools or clothes were got out, the kneeless pinnace 'shivered and sank in pieces at the ship's stern.' Such was the history and appropriate end of the five-ton boat that had been so ingeniously put together under Hatton's Headland. Deliverances were so timely, instrumentalities proved so nicely adjusted to the purpose, that the dullest miner or mariner could not help perceiving a design, and consequently thanked God for His preserving Providence.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DURING the whole of the night of September 1, as has been said, the 'Aid' lay-to, keeping a sharp look-out for the general's pinnace. The watch was continued next day and through the whole of the night of the 2nd. Throughout the hours of darkness a double light was kept half-shroud high, and they 'burnt a pike of wild-fire.' The chief pilot saw several ships to windward making away for the open sea; and during the afternoon of the 2nd the 'Bear' and 'Armonell' bore down upon the 'Aid,' whom Hall spoke, inquiring for his general. 'That fair-weather master of the "Bear" told me of a pinnace that was alongst the shore, so that I lay adrift.' The two ships then departed on their way homeward.

Christopher Hall wrote this narrative when the charge had been brought against him of deserting his general; and the side-stroke aimed at the master of the 'Bear' doubtless has some connection with that fact. One of the charges in the Indictment of Abuses against the admiral is of having unnecessarily endangered the fleet by delaying his departure from Beare's Sound, as though the reader could forget that, though an admiral, he had no control of the storms, and that his delay was caused by over-anxiety to forward the interests of the Company of Cathay.

At five o'clock in the evening of the 2nd, as the 'Aid' lay four leagues south-east of the Queen's Foreland, the pinnace, which Hall had sent back again for Frobisher, came alongside and informed him that the general was following in the 'Gabriel.' During the night two more ships came up to the 'Aid,' and these proved to be the

'Moon' and 'Thomas Allin.' Next day the three ships shaped their course towards the south-east, judging that the 'Gabriel' had passed them in the night. On the day following the pinnace, which the 'Aid' was towing, was dashed against the stern of the ship and broken in pieces. Within a week the mainyard went. Five days afterwards the 'Aid' was so severely pooped that the general's cabin was stove in, the man at the helm being knocked down, and the ship wellnigh foundered. Five days later—that is, on September 19—the 'Aid' came up with the 'Hopewell' and 'Ann Frances.' The captain of the latter told Christopher Hall 'that my general was in great choler with me, and also the master of the "Ann Frances" took me up very short and would have had me to have gone E. and by S., and the land lying south of me, and I answered him I would not.'

The story of the 'Aid's' return voyage was in the matter of storms and dangers very similar to that of the other ships of the fleet, with one exception. The experiences of the 'Busse of Bridgwater' were unique. She had been left in a hopeless condition in Beare's Sound, swinging at her anchors on a lee-shore and surrounded by ragged rocks. After several fruitless attempts to make their way out of the harbour they remembered what they had heard of the general's discovery,—how that the channel extended northwards to the open sea. Their course was now shaped in that direction. Towing, sailing, warping, they worked their way along the unknown channels and through the uncharted archipelago. The wind at last shifting to the south-west, they were borne along until they emerged in Davis's Straits; 'a very dangerous attempt, save that necessity, which hath no law, forced them to try masteries.' On the way home the 'Busse' made a discovery which greatly puzzled mariners for several gene-

rations. In latitude 57 degrees and a half—that is, about two degrees and a half south of the extreme point of Greenland—and on September 12, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, they sailed along an island which they estimated to be twenty-five leagues long. 'There appeared two harbours upon that coast; the greatest of them seven leagues to the northwards of the southernmost point, the other but four leagues.' Another authority says—(evidently from hearsay, which will account for the luxuriant vegetation in such a latitude)—that 'they sailed three days along the coast, the land seeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a champaign country.' In the old maps this island was set down and usually called 'the sunken land of Busse;' but it was never afterwards seen. Some have conjectured that a great iceberg was mistaken for an island: but a better explanation is that, after crossing Davis's Straits and sighting the coast of Greenland, they supposed themselves off Cape Farewell, when in reality they had seen some point on the western coast far north of that cape, and that therefore the supposed island was only a part of Greenland. It is the least of the difficulties to suppose an error in their observations. The old mariners often looked out for the 'sunken land of Busse' in vain, and concluded that it must at least be a bank if not an island. But Sir John Ross, the Arctic explorer, banished this last remnant of the old story, for he sounded all over the place, and found no bottom in a hundred and eighty fathoms.

After their divers adverse experiences, 'thanks be to God, all the fleet arrived safely in England about the 1st of October, some in one place and some in another.' About forty persons had perished during the voyage, a proportion which Captain Best does not deem large, considering their numbers and how strange were their fortunes.

Meta Incognita and Frobisher's Straits were no more to be visited by the admiral. Master John Davis, in returning from his second voyage to the North-West, passed by this way eight years after the departure of Frobisher's third voyage, but did not enter the Straits. Fifteen years after Davis, an attempt was made by George Weymouth to work his way up to the Countess's Sound; but the old story of contrary winds, fogs, and ice was found to be no exaggeration. Weymouth lay off and on for seventeen days waiting an opportunity to enter the Straits; but his crew had already been brought to the point of mutiny, and, after the example of the 'Thomas of Ipswich,' put their helm down and shaped their course for home, while their captain was asleep in his cabin, wherein they kept him prisoner until he pardoned their insubordination.

Nearly three centuries elapsed before the Countess's Sound and Island were again visited by an Anglo-Saxon, and he was an American. In 1861 Captain C. F. Hall spent two years among the Esquimaux. The Countess's Island he found to be called Kodlunarn, or the Island of the White Man. The account he received from the natives of Frobisher's visits is a curious confirmation of the value of tradition among savage peoples. Captain Hall had not then read any narrative of the admiral's three voyages, and heard the traditions as a new and strange tale, which he was not in a position to test or correct.

He was told that the white men's ships had come, first two, then three, then many. The white men had taken away two of their women, who had never come back. Many fragments of brick, tiles, iron, etc. were shown him. Best's Bulwark was traced. The small house of lime and stone had been well built, for Captain Hall found it after the three centuries in a good state of preservation. They told him also how that their people had captured five of

the white men; that these had wintered among them. Then they showed him an excavation on Kodlunarn eighty-eight feet long and six feet deep which the white men had dug, while on the shore was an inclined trench or slip. Here the five captive Englishmen, having dug up the buried timbers of the fort, built a large boat, which had a mast in her, with sails. Their boat had proved to be a floating coffin. For, according to the natives, the Englishmen having finished their craft, set sail too early in the season; some froze their hands in the attempt; yet they had finally set out, and had never been seen afterwards.

Such was the sequel of the story of the five Englishmen who had fallen victims to their love of peltry during the first voyage of the 'Gabriel'; and thus were identified the island and long-sought port of the third voyage, where the first English colony was attempted on the American continent.

CHAPTER XL.

Nothing is said of any great demonstration of welcome having been made on the return of the expedition. There was an immediate necessity for money to pay off the men and the chartered ships, so the Queen sent special instructions to Michael Lock how the required funds were to be obtained from the venturers; and if any of them should be remiss the Company's treasurer was to go for assistance to the Lord Mayor and the Master of the Records. Nevertheless the venturers were very remiss. Their patience and means had been drawn upon too often; but the blood-letting was not done yet.

The mystery thrown around the ore by the assayers had thickened during the summer of 1578. To the secrets and discussions concerning the furnaces was now added the subject of additaments. The summer before it was the furnace that always went wrong. Now the additaments were not right; the result for the venturers being the same in both years.

To intensify the difficulties of the Company sinister rumours were wafted abroad concerning the accuracy of the treasurer's accounts. Michael Lock was plainly charged with dishonesty. As far back as the month of March, and prior to the setting out on the third voyage, Thomas Allen, deputy-treasurer, had written to Secretary Walsingham saying that Lock was selling as much of the Company's property as he could, and that he never paid any man a penny; wherefore the deputy-treasurer makes the obvious suggestion that it would be wise that Lock should be compelled to exhibit his account, and to pay the Company what he owed.

With the view of allaying the suspicions of the shareholders Thomas Allen was appointed receiver for the Company. But the venturers continued remiss,—only William Ormshaw of them all having paid his assessment,—while the clamour of the mariners, shipowners, miners, and soldiers for that which the receiver had not grew daily louder. In another letter to the Queen's Secretary Allen says: 'There is a great deal of freight to pay; no ship paid but one, which is called the "Bear," Lester, which is Mr. Lock's ship, and she is wholly paid, as your honor may see in his account of the money which he did receive; it is 350*l.* the last parcel. There is others that would be paid as well, as Christmas being so near every man crieth out for money. I wish all might be paid before the time and it be possible, desiring your honor to

help at a pinch, or else I would I had my money and another had my office.'

Within two weeks of this, Lock writes to Walsingham in answer to the charges which had been brought against him, and which the Secretary had forwarded to him. Lock says he has received no moneys, since Thomas Allen's appointment, except 28*l.*, which he has spent on the works and the assayer at Dartford. He has his house 'full pestered of the goods' of the Company brought home—victuals, ship-tackling, etc.—which he is ready to deliver over. His accounts also he is ready to deliver. And they were delivered in volumes, two of which yet remain. The auditor's return on these is that there is owing from 'Michael Lock for money supposed to remain in his hands 1,216*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* Whereof he demandeth allowance of 1,200*l.* for his attendance and charges sustained in the causes of the said three voyages.' It is quite evident that Lock's counter-claim was not ungenerously dealt with. He was granted three per cent. on all the capital invested in the three voyages, besides a liberal allowance for servants, personal expenses, etc., yet the whole only amounted to 430*l.* A large item for interest on money which he had borrowed to invest in the Company was cut out, and a hint given that he was seeking to make others pay his debts.

In the course of a few weeks Lock wrote another and much humbler letter to the Secretary. In it he says that the Commission and auditor had dealt very hardly with him, but he hopes his honor will still stand good to him, and still give him his favour and good countenance. With this letter was sent a large declaration of particulars which had been handed to the Commission, but which those persons had declined to read. Apparently nothing came of this appeal to the Secretary, and so Lock took another

step and sent a petition to the Privy Council, in which he recited the refusal of the auditors to allow the charge of 1,200*l.*, adding that he had spent 400*l.* on the Company not claimed, besides having invested 2,250*l.* in the stock of the Company, which was all his property, and that now 'himself, his wife, and fifteen children are left in state to beg their bread henceforth, except God turn the stones at Dartford into his bread again.' Nothing came of this appeal either.

Thomas Allen, day by day, gained a clearer conception of the tempestuous sea he had embarked upon when he accepted the appointment of receiver. About a month later—that is, in January of 1579, and while he was still engaged on the accounts of Mr. Lock—the storm chopped round to another quarter. In a letter of this time to Walsingham he writes: 'Mr. Frobisher doth much misuse me in words, saying I have complained to the Council of him,' and that the receiver had affirmed that the ore at Dartford was nothing worth, and that the admiral had received money and done what he pleased with it. Allen had brought this tempest on himself, for he admits having charged Frobisher with receiving 153*l.*, of which there was no other account than that it had been distributed as rewards to those ships which had stood by him in his extremity. 'Sir,' quoth the receiver in this letter, 'he will weary us all, and he have the bridle too much.' Thomas Allen had not had enough of his office yet, and so he recommends that the accounts of Frobisher be taken in hand and audited. The letter closes with the pining sigh of injured incorruptibility—'I would I were discharged, rather than I will be thus railed at for my pains.'

Michael Lock was in pursuit of the same quarry. From the dissatisfied captains, masters, pilots, and notary he was now gathering together the materials for the

composition of the document which has so often been referred to, and which was entitled 'The Abuses of Captain Frobisher against the Company.'

The accuracy of several of the counts of this indictment has been already tested. Some of the others may be seen through without evidence,—such as that Captain Frobisher had made lying promises because the second voyage found no ore on Hall's Island, where the 'black stone' had been picked up by Christopher Hall, and unknown to the captain. Again, Frobisher had said the ore was worth 80*l.* the ton, which was not so found. This was another instance of lying. When it is borne in mind that no two men in the kingdom were yet agreed as to the value of the ore, and that all had indulged in exaggerated estimates, one is surprised to find a charge based on so frail a foundation. Again, the admiral had taken out four ships and a hundred men on the third voyage beyond his complement, and for his own purpose. What such a purpose could be, unless it is intended to suggest that the admiral meant to steal the ore, it is hard to understand.

So the charges ran, some trivial, some of the greatest heinousness. The admiral had been extravagant in his expenditures; he had bribed Burchard to make false assays, he had filched the money given him for victualling the 'Aid,' in consequence whereof many men died, also the advance wages of the miners; he had led the ships this year to a wrong place; he was arrogant; he drew his dagger on Jonas; he drew his dagger on Captain Fenton; he was so full of lying talk no man could credit him; he had lately raised slanderous reports against Mr. Lock, etc., etc. Since there is no doubt Michael Lock was the author of this document, the last item is sufficiently ludicrous.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE Queen was sending order after order to the venturers commanding them to pay their arrears and assessments. At last they were informed that if they did not give heed they should forfeit all their interest in the Company. It proved that nearly every one of them was possessed of sufficient fortitude to face this extremity. The Queen went further and hinted that more serious consequences might follow disobedience. Still there was no disposition manifest to throw good money after bad. The City had grown incredulous. The merchants had no faith in proofs, and alchemists, and additaments any longer. The last thing known to the public concerning the ore was that rival propositions had been received, one from Lock and one from Jonas, for a lease of all the works at Dartford, and a license to work all the ore. Lock, hoping to transform the stone at Dartford into bread, offered to pay 5*l.* the ton for the ore, provided he received a clear discharge and *quietus est* of all his debts incurred in the business of the Company. He evidently aimed only at getting a certificate of discharge in bankruptcy. Had his offer been accepted he would have been saved much suffering. Jonas offered something like 10*l.* the ton. And yet the money so urgently needed for paying off the crews could not be procured. The answer of one shareholder might, perhaps, have been applicable to many. William Burrough writes to Secretary Walsingham that he had received the notice to pay his arrears, by which it was made to appear he was debtor to the amount of 57*l.* 10*s.* But the facts would show the indebtedness was on the other side. He had sold the 'Judith' to Michael Lock for the

third voyage. The price agreed upon was 320*l.* From this sum was deducted 67*l.* 10*s.* for his share in the venture. Later on Michael Lock had paid him 90*l.* So that, after deducting the 57*l.* 10*s.* due for assessments, he was still the creditor of the Company in the sum of 106*l.* This statement of facts was followed up by an attack on Lock's honesty. And the letter ended with a demand that he be paid his money rather than pay anything to the Company. William Burrough was thoroughly roused, and turned to the Courts for an enforcement of his rights. An action was entered against Michael Lock, which resulted in the unfortunate, if not dishonest, treasurer being thrown into the Fleet.

On June 16, 1581, Michael Lock addressed a letter from prison to the Privy Council in which he says: 'I have been now committed to the Fleet at the suit of William Burrow for the sum of 200*l.*, which he pretendeth to be owing to him for a ship for the last voyage of Capt. Furbisher to the North-West parts, which ship the Company of Adventurers have and for the which they do owe him 95*l.* and no more, which is not my debt, as appeareth by the certificate of the Auditors.' He claims that his accounts have been audited four times by four several companies of auditors and Commissioners appointed by the Privy Council. He has endured 'great troubles, many imprisonments, extreme losses,' to his 'utter undoing.' He has been so occupied with the Company's affairs that he had no time to earn a penny towards his living to maintain his great family of fifteen children. He beseeches the Council 'for God's sake' to call up William Burrough and command him to discharge his execution. The fallen treasurer's final request throws new light over the Queen's liberality in lending the 'Aid' and taking so large a share in the Company of Cathay. His last prayer

is that his bonds of 4,000*l.* which are in the Court of Exchequer, given for Her Majesty's adventure in the voyages, may be cancelled, and that he have a warrant of protection for the future.

With this letter Michael Lock disappears from this story; but not from history. He had done much for geography already, and did more afterwards. The Company of Cathay fell with its treasurer. The belief in the ore lingered awhile longer in some minds and localities, but the City would have nothing more to do with the gold mines of the North-West.

From the provincial towns came occasional inquiries about the 'new found riches of Mr. Forbisher.' And in the following year the inhabitants of Dover sent up a petition to the Privy Council full of unwavering faith in the new riches. They said that their harbour was much decayed, and, among other exceptional remedies suggested for their necessities, they solicited a license to fetch two hundred or three hundred tons of the ore discovered by Captain Frobisher. That was the last note of confidence in the ore.

As far as material profit was concerned, Frobisher had fared even worse than Lock, though his friends at Court protected him from the same disastrous consequences. Thomas Allen, writing to Walsingham with respect to the sale of the 'Gabriel' which had been ordered, says that the bark had been appraised, and that he had offered her for 80*l.* 'Mr. Frobisher hath bidden for her; but I think ready money is out of the way with him.'

The admiral was willing as ever to undertake responsibilities and load himself with obligations which he hoped the future would carry off, but was not to be trusted by men of ready money. It may have seemed a small thing to him to give his note for 80*l.* when the

world was still waiting to be circumnavigated. Nevertheless his bid was declined and the world encircled by another.

While the first voyage was being projected in 1575 Frobisher appeared as a man without means. During the second and third voyages he becomes a large shareholder, and is always forward to put down his name as a subscriber. These were not all mere empty promises to pay in the vague undated future.

Probably after his return from the first voyage 'with his strange man of Cathay, and his great rumor of the passage to Cathay,' when he had been 'called to the Court and greatly embraced and liked of the best,' the great captain married. The bride was an aged lady, the widow of a wealthy man named Thomas Riggatt, of Snaith, in the county of York, not far from the admiral's native village. She had children and grandchildren; and there is no doubt that the ample provision made for them by their father went to supply the incessant needs of the Company of Cathay. She could have had no sympathy with her second husband's greatness of mind. As a mother, she was content to look within the narrower circle of her children's happiness. Frobisher's schemes and the welfare of her offspring were soon in antagonism. What went to feed the great achievement contributed poverty to her children. A long continuance of wounded love wrought its natural effect. During the third voyage, or thereabouts, while her husband was away gaining glory for his country, the wife was at last face to face with abject misery. It is no wonder that the following letter addressed by her at that time to Secretary Walsingham, around whom this Cathayan eddy whirled as around a centre, is full of bitterness as well as pathos, in spite of the hired scrivener's cramped and formal style. The letter tells all that is known of Thomas Riggatt's widow, called otherwise Isabel Frobisher:—

'In her most lamentable manner sheweth unto her honor your humble oratrix Isabell Frobusher the most miserable poor woman in the world, that whereas your honor's said oratrix sometimes was the wife of one Thomas Riggatt of Snathe in the County of York, a very wealthy man, who left your oratrix well to live and in very good state and good portions unto all his children. Afterwards she took to husband Mr Captain Frobusher (whom God forgive) who hath not only spent that which her said husband left her, but the portions also of her poor children, and hath put them all to the wide world to shift a most lamentable case. And now to increase her misery she having not to releive herself her children's children of her said first husband are sent unto her having a poor room within another at Hampstead near London for her to keep at which place she and they are for want of food ready to starve to your poor oratrix intolerable grief and sorrow. Your oratrix humble petition is that whereas one Mr Kempe Gent dwelling in the Wool Staple at Westminster gave his promise to pay her 4*l.* for the said Mr Frobusher (which he will not now pay) that without delay he may pay the same or that it would please your honor to help her with some relief until Mr Frobusher's return to keep them from famishing—and she according to her bounden duty will daily pray to God etc.'

It would have been pleasant to discover that she had received some relief for her necessities, and lived long enough to enjoy some of the sunshine that came later on to her husband, and to hear herself called Dame Isabel; but, whatever may have been the immediate effect of her letter, there are reasons for believing that she broke down under her adversity and died not long after. Thus Widow Riggatt no sooner comes in than she goes out again,

having paid the usual price for marrying a younger man than herself, and one who was full of great schemes.

CHAPTER XLII.

By the time Frobisher had emerged, in whatever destitute condition, out of the Cathayan chaos there arose a sudden demand for brave, resolute men to put down one of the infinite series of Irish risings, and this a memorable one.

While the scattered ships of the third voyage were undergoing the thumping and battering of the ice of the North-West, one Piers Ryce, an Irishman, having a certain scheme brooding in his unquiet brain, purchased a small rocky promontory or peninsula on the south-western shore of his native Kerry. The aspect which he presented to his neighbours of this purchase was that it would be a good investment, for the profits to be derived by a prudent trader from the fishing-boats frequenting the adjacent waters were considerable. A house erected on the peninsula rapidly developed into 'a pretty castle.' Next the peninsula was transformed into an island, by cutting a trench across the neck. It was now the autumn of 1578; and Ryce, having finished his fortress, was, with parental fondness, devising a pretty name for it. He knew beforehand what purpose the stronghold was to serve: ships laden with Spaniards were to land their men on the sands. The word Spaniard suggested naturally the gold-laden carracks that were transporting the treasures of the New World into the coffers of His Catholic Majesty. By visions of his own creating he had become intoxicated to a degree beyond the power of the brightest reality, when a

storm swept a disabled ship towards the shore, and cast her into the cove beneath his walls a total wreck. It was one of the fleet returning from Meta Incognita with 'Captain Frobisher's new found riches.' There is no account of any of the ships of the third expedition having been cast away; but Nicholas White, the Lord Justice of Ireland, says he saw the planks and staves of the wreck. At any rate, Piers Ryce had come to a decision: his new possession should be called Down Enoyr, or Golden Haven.

Next year the rebel Fitzmaurice landed, with the Pope's legate and a Spanish force, at the neighbouring port of Dingle, marched across, and was welcomed into possession by Piers Ryce. The expedition was to restore to Ireland its ancient faith and liberties. Fitzmaurice soon fell in battle, and a greater leader stepped into the gap. This was that Earl of Desmond whom Frobisher had met and misled when a prisoner in London. The man who could not endure sea-sickness or mount a charger without assistance proved himself a capable rebel or patriot, as the case may be.

But in the meantime Ryce's romantic name for his possession had been set aside by the Spaniards with their saintly names for everything warlike and destructive. Down Enoyr became Smerwicke, or St. Mary Wick, and together with Dingle formed the base of operations of the rebels. Here an occasional ship arrived from abroad with supplies; a powerful fleet being promised, and hourly expected, from Spain.

To prevent the landing of a Spanish army on the coast of Kerry, the Queen issued orders that the fleet under the veteran admiral Sir William Winter should at once be got ready and despatched to Dingle.

Sir William had been a considerable subscriber to the

Company of Cathay, and stood the friend of Frobisher throughout. To Dingle, therefore, the fleet sailed; Martin Frobisher being in command of the ship 'Foresight.' The Queen's parsimony had crippled the undertaking. And in April, while the land forces facing the front of rebellion from Cork to Limerick were compelled to pause in their victorious march towards the west, that the Queen might examine some doubtful items in their pay-rolls, Sir William and the fleet moved away from Kerry in search of provisions for the crews. As they were cruising off Kinsale, a convoy loaded with supplies was met, with which the fleet sailed into the harbour of Cork, to transfer the provisions and ammunition. Frobisher was despatched to England with the returning and unladen victual-ships, bearing a hasty letter to Walsingham, in which it was said, 'The bearer hereof, Mr. Furbisher, being a painful companion of ours in the voyage, will and is able to advertise your honor of all that has happened in our time of being here.' This Frobisher seems to have done very emphatically, especially setting forth the deficiencies in the victualling of the fleet.

Sir William went back to his post off the coast lying between Dingle and Limerick. But the supplies newly sent out were soon exhausted. The Queen's view of the matter was, as usual, of a commercial character. The work was not performed with economy. Perhaps an amnesty would cost less than extermination. While Elizabeth was indulging in this see-saw hesitation between two policies the fleet again fell short of food. The admiral had witnessed the destruction of Dingle and Smerwicke, and saw no likelihood of the arrival of the Spanish fleet. Besides, the seat of the rebellion had been transferred from Kerry to Wicklow; and his ships were so foul with weeds that he could neither pursue a fleeing

enemy nor escape from an over-match. He therefore sailed away for Plymouth in search of provisions. This was towards the end of July.

Either by an unhappy coincidence or because the enemy was kept informed of the movements of Sir William, the admiral had no sooner sailed away than the long-expected fleet arrived. Piers Ryce's destroyed castle was again occupied and made ready for defence; the channel between it and the land cleared of the sand which the tide had washed in, and the rebellion brought back to its old base in Kerry. The foreigners, mostly Italians, were about eight hundred strong; they had brought with them six months' provisions and four thousand stand of arms to put in the hands of the peasants.

On receipt of this intelligence the Queen's parsimony gave way to a burst of rage. Everybody had been to blame except Her Majesty. Sir William must immediately return. And yet not so immediately but that time was found to haggle at Richmond over a little bark of twenty-four tons called the 'Merlin.'

In the meantime Frobisher was pursuing the subject of the meat and drink of the men—to deal with which he had been sent back from Cork.

Her Majesty's allowance per man per diem, and that of the best sort, he says, was—

In bread one pound	*i d.*	
In beef ii pound	*ii d.* ob	*v d.*
In beer one gallon	*i d.* ob	

The observation which succeeds this statement contains a hint that somebody had been making a profit out of the food contracts, or that further economy was projected. 'The victuals not being of the best, I leave it to your Honors what may be saved.'

But there was a shortcoming in the quantity also. The pursers had complained that their supplies were so scanty that they could deal out only three-fourths rations. Upon this statement Frobisher puts to their honours a very pertinent question, and one that throws much light on the sailor's time and kind of eating, when Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher were teaching Englishmen to know wherein their strength lay. For he asks, 'If you deduct the forenoon and afternoon "snacks" of the men, consisting of a quarter of a pound of bread and a quart of drink each, what is there left for their two meals?' The answer to that is obvious from his previous statement, namely, a pound of beef, a quart of beer, and a quarter of a pound of bread for each meal. Frobisher seems to think that an English sailor did not consider any quantity of beer less than a quart worth raising to his lips.

CHAPTER XLIII.

By the middle of October the fleet had sailed away from Plymouth; but was soon compelled to seek shelter from a sudden gale under Portland Bill. Three weeks did the cautious old admiral occupy in making a safe voyage to his destination, while the forces of Earl Grey were holding the newly-landed foreigners in check, daily expecting fresh arrivals from abroad, and in urgent need of every supply.

On November 7 the fleet anchored in Smerwicke Bay. The fort was at once closely besieged by land and sea. A demand was sent to Don Bastian de San Josepo, commanding the enemy, to know for what purpose they had come abroad, who had sent them, and if they were prepared

to surrender the fortress out of hand. The answer returned may have seemed to the Spaniard such as to inspire respect, but it was to the English as venom in the wound. They said the Holy Father the Pope had sent them; their purpose was to conquer the island for King Philip, to whom it had been granted by the wearer of the tiara, and that with respect to surrendering they intended to keep what they had and to recover what they had not.

The general of the land forces and the admiral of the fleet met on receipt of this boastful, galling speech, and decided on a plan of concerted action. During this consultation the foreigners made a sudden but weak sally from the fort, which was easily beaten back by a force of twelve Englishmen. Then night came down on the scene. The Earl Grey pushed forward the trenches within three hundred yards of the fort, while Sir William and his captains landed a large number of cannon, which they mounted on a sandbar extending between the ships and the fort. By dawn all was ready for the bombardment. Again they summoned the fort to surrender, and again came the answer that they would keep what they had, and would increase what they could get. On that the batteries opened fire, which was continued for four days; Winter, Bingham, and Frobisher on the one side; Grey, Walter Raleigh, Edmund Spenser, and Mr. Cheke on the other, plying them with shot and shell without intermission.

The trench had been pushed forward within a cable's length of the fort, and 'young Mr. Cheke,' looking over the parapet, was shot through the head. About the same time a piece levelled by the mariners on the beach dismounted the largest cannon in the fort, killing the men; upon which a foreigner sprang up on the wall of the fort displaying a handkerchief and craving parley. The Lord Deputy, after the example of the Spaniards in the Nether-

lands, spoke then harshly, saying that since they had come to the assistance of traitors they stood themselves in the same character. When those within the fort heard this answer there arose a loud cry of 'Misericordia, misericordia!' But the cry fell on ears deaf to mercy.

A white flag was hung above the fort, and a messenger went over from the English lines, who shortly returned bringing with him Don Bastian, who hoped to obtain terms. An unconditional surrender alone was acceptable. Still they pleaded that they might be permitted to depart or that their lives might be spared. The Lord Deputy again spoke them harshly, listening to no conditions except that, on a delivery of hostages, they might have the night to consider their decision. This was accepted.

Within the fort were nearly eight hundred men, provided with abundance of provisions and cannon, having their ships in the harbour. Surrounding them were fifteen hundred men of the fleet and eight hundred men under Earl Grey. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive how men thus situated could find any reason for surrendering except a weak heart. It has always been thought preferable to die sword in hand than by the hangman's rope; but cowardice knows nothing of honour or wisdom.

The night passed without bringing any succour from the Earl of Desmond, and at daybreak Don Bastian disarmed himself, commanding his men to do the same. The armour was piled up, the pikes laid across, and the surrender effected.

What followed was tragical. Earl Grey had learned how fortresses captured from Protestants in the Netherlands were treated to fire and sword by the Spaniards. Only the year before Maestricht, after its superhuman defence, had sunk with one great cry of agony beneath the sword of Parma. And the Puritan Grey was a man who

felt that service might be done God by smiting these Philistines hip and thigh. 'The Lord of Hosts,' he wrote afterwards, 'had delivered the enemy to us.' By the afternoon of that day six hundred bodies, dead and stripped, were laid out in a long ghastly row. There is not one word to implicate Winter and Frobisher in this horrible tragedy. Some of their mariners had rushed in for plunder, but they themselves stood aloof, and made haste to re-ship their ordnance.

The rebellion of Fitzmaurice and Desmond was practically at an end, and so was Frobisher's employment.

The fleet at once sailed away, and the Queen's economy made short work with the chartered ships, of which the 'Foresight' was probably one. And so at the close of the year 1580 Frobisher was once more in extremity. This time he followed the example of Michael Lock and the unhappy Widow Riggatt, sending 'to the Queen's most excellent Majesty' the appeal of a man who had done his country some service, and might yet be of use, if he were given enough bread to keep body and soul together.

In his petition Frobisher reminds the Queen of the lease of certain lands which she had granted him about five years before, that is, on his return from the first voyage to the North-West, when he brought home the wonderful 'black stone' and 'strange man of Cathay.' But Frobisher had not found the gift all gain; for during the five years that had elapsed he had been continually before the Courts seeking to gain possession; and though the Queen's mandate had been repeatedly issued commanding justice to be done him speedily, he now found himself farther than ever from attaining his object, for he had just been cast in the costs and sent out of Court. He was not able, he said, to prosecute the suit farther through poverty; and though he could lay no claim to relief from

Her Highness' hands 'under whom he desired but to live with credit as her servant with a penny the day, rather than under foreign princes with greater revenue, yet he depended only upon Her Highness' favour, as one devoid of hope elsewhere to find relief in these his extremities; most humbly beseeching Her Highness of her accustomed goodness either to employ him in her present service or else to bestow her gracious relief upon him, that he might but live, to be ready, when she should have occasion to use his simple service.'

That occasion arose many times. And any bread bestowed upon him proved to be literally bread cast upon the face of the waters that brought in a bountiful return. The Queen seems to have felt that the petition had been sent by a hungry man, and she knew also what was meant by the hint of foreign service; so no time was lost in sending an answer. With consummate economy she gave him, within the year, an appointment to the reversion of the Clerkship of the Royal Navy. The office itself was held and the emoluments received by one 'G. W.' Sir John Hawkins had held the reversion; but better provision having been made for him, that expectancy was now bestowed on M. Ff. He had asked for bread, and the Queen had given him a pair of dead men's shoes. M. Ff. eventually succeeded, like Sir John Hawkins, in finding better provision, and left the proverbially long-lived possessor to be impatiently watched out of the body by another. But the appointment gave him credit, and served the present purpose of driving the wolf away from the door. In the course of time the Grange of Finningley came into his possession, but not by lawsuits or petitions to the Crown, and the war-worn mariner spent many of his latter days upon it in the character of a Yorkshire landlord and justice of the peace.

CHAPTER XLIV.

About two weeks prior to the departure of Sir William Winter's fleet from Plymouth, with Frobisher in command of the 'Foresight,' there arrived in that port a battered bark named the 'Golden Hind,' commanded by Captain Francis Drake. She was returning from ploughing that memorable first English furrow around the globe, and was loaded down to the water's edge with treasure. Frobisher's dream of sailing 'to the East by the West' had been accomplished by another. And so he sailed away to the siege of Smerwicke.

As soon as the story of the wonderful voyage and riches of the 'Golden Hind' became known, and the ship had come round to Deptford, and the Queen, overcoming her constitutional hesitation, had dined on board and knighted the navigator, plenty of capitalists were found ready to furnish ships for a repetition of the same achievement; and the unemployed Frobisher was recognised to be the only man fit to command such an expedition.

At the same time the Government felt that, having endorsed Drake's conduct and refused to return the treasure captured by him, it was necessary to go further. So the Lords of the Council sent for Sir Francis to consult with them and devise the best means of crippling the commerce of the King of Spain in the South Seas. The famous mariner was well pleased to find the Government disposed to take action against that king through whom his family had lost and suffered so much, and threw himself heartily into the matter.

In a letter written to the Earl of Leicester on October

14, 1581, he says that Master Frobisher shall have his assistance to 'the uttermost, and some 'sufficient men' of his late Company, who have 'some experience that way.' His lordship shall make election of three different offers which the writer proposes: (1) he will subscribe to the adventure one thousand marks, though it 'will make trial of his credit to furnish that amount,' since he had already in other matters deeply pledged it; (2) he will furnish a vessel he has, and which is of one hundred and eighty tons burthen, 'a ship as fit for it as may be had for her sufficiency every way, wherein he will bestow the adventure of a thousand pounds, and furnish her very sufficiently in very short time, so that there may be order given for the overplus of her charge'; or (3) 'if his Lordship with Master Frobisher think best to have the little new bark and the two pinnaces he will bestow the like adventure therein, and upon their advice given will have the ship sheathed, prepared, and furnished with sufficient provisions to their good liking. Whereupon he will gladly attend their answer herein, for that he is very desirous to show that dutiful service he can possibly do in any action his lordship vouchsafeth to use him, and for it he is willing to follow the direction of his lordship and Mr. Frobisher in every respect.'

Great diligence was employed in getting the expedition ready. It was to consist of the galleon 'Edward Bonaventure,' the bark 'Talbot,' and the frigate 'Ughtred.' The subscribers were all of the Court party, and seem to have claimed the monopoly of reaping the South Seas. The leading venturers were:—

The Earl of Leicester and Mr. Ughtred	3,000
„ „ Oxford	500
„ „ Leicester	100
„ „ Pembroke	200

	£
e Earl of Warwick	200
d Howard	200
C. Hatton	200
F. Walsingham	200
ain Frobisher	300
. Drake	700
ard Fenton and his friends	300
rs	500
	£6,400

ghtred's name appears besides the Earl of Leice he advanced the money, and was to be repaid year. Captain Frobisher seems to have subscribed the anticipated fruits of his labours as commander. In the margin of the letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Leicester containing these statements there is written opposite this list: 'the special men Mr. Frob desireth,' indicating that the allotment of the shares even rested with the captain.

Everything went on very prosperously on the surface during the winter of 1581. A formidable list of instructions containing twenty-four paragraphs was directed to Frobisher concerning his intended voyage. The punishment of small offences was to be summary, but any offence involving the loss of life or limb was to be tried by jury. In this provision there was doubtless a recollection of the execution of Doughty by Drake, on whose return a considerable clamour had been raised for bringing the mariner to trial for it. The departure from Southampton was to take place before the last of some month in 1581. The expedition was to sail by the Cape of Good Hope; not to pass through the Straits of Magellan, going or coming. It was not to pass to the north-eastward beyond the 40th degree of latitude, which would be the latitude of Japan, 'because,' say they who issued the instructions, 'we will

that this voyage shall be only for trading, and
discovery of the passage by the north-east to
otherwise there is some hindrance to your trade;
in the said degree you can get any knowledge
that passage, whereof you will do well to be inqu
occasion in this sort may serve.'

A new way to Cathay still lingered in F
mind, and the venturers felt it necessary to g
money by warning the captain against his croto
while the surface of affairs was so unruffled
current had for some time been running. Th
not forgotten Frobisher. And the item in
subscribers, 'Edward Fenton and his friends,' might be
read inversely, 'Martin Frobisher's implacable enemies.'
With Fenton was Christopher Hall and Charles Jackman
and Luke Ward, of North-Western fame, by whom Michael
Lock had proposed to substantiate many of the charges in
the Indictment of Abuses. But up to a certain point
Frobisher was far above the reach of their opposition.
The need of money changed the whole. Earls and lords
and baronets might subscribe, and think their names
would supply the place of funds. When aldermen were
invited to partake Frobisher's sun entered on its declination;
another commander was sought out, and the future admiral
was left to act on the covert threat contained in his petition
to the Queen, namely, that there were other princes in
Europe who were prepared to pay more than a penny a
day for the services of such a man as himself.

The venturers were driven to accept the subscriptions
of the City magnates. Many detailed changes were made.
The expedition did not start from Southampton until
April 9, 1582. It was instructed to shape its course 'to
the isles of the Moluccas for the better discovery of the
North-West Passage.' It was still forbidden to pass

stward of the 40th degree, or to go through the f Magellan. The chief command was given to Fenton; under him were Christopher Hall and rd. Very strangely, they sailed directly to the hood of Magellan's Straits, and essayed to pass but found there a Spanish force despatched from ntercept them.' Failure and defeat marked the age.

CHAPTER XLV.

ommand of the expedition was handed over to ry Ughtred, the capitalist of the adventure, w. He and Frobisher had been for some time sing another scheme; the event referred to decided hem in their wavering. Don Antonio, the Pretender of Portugal, was at that time an element in the confusion of public affairs, having about the value of a knight in the European chess-game. Catherine of France had warmly espoused his cause, and sent him over to England to see what might be done with Elizabeth. Soon after his arrival in the island certain pretty and precious stones, called the Braganza jewels, found their way into the Queen's treasury. These had been brought over by Don Antonio, who had been doubtless taught by Catherine the only logic wherewith Elizabeth could be convinced.

The Queen forthwith consulted with her Council on the matter, and put it to the judgment of Lord Burghley, who, seeing which way the wind was blowing from the throne, returned answer that King Antonio might be maintained in the possession of what he already held without breach

of treaty. The territory held was Terceira, in the
Again, England had no treaty with Spain for the
of Portugal or any of its dependencies; therefo
might be fitted out in Her Majesty's ports, and
mand given to Sir Francis Drake, with the view
taining Don Antonio in what he possessed, and of
what had been taken from him. 'But let He
(continues Burghley) not undertake this enterpri
the co-operation of the French king; and lest t
Spain might take the English meddling ami
it would be better to stay the English merchan
sailing to any Spanish port for that year.' It
been well if better heed had been paid to
caution of the statesman, who in the present
not over-prudent.

This advice fell in with the Queen's presen
Don Antonio was allowed to buy what ships he cou
the twelve thousand pounds advanced by the royal paw
broker on the jewels. Hoisting the Portuguese flag o
board the fleet which he had succeeded in collecting to-
gether, Don Antonio sailed down the Thames and past the
Queen's window at Greenwich.

Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher were already in the service of the Pretender. This was the sort of employment for which Frobisher had long hungered. The Smerwicke affair at one time seemed to offer the opportunity for which he had been longing; but the white livers of the Spanish and Italian invaders were not to yield any man laurels. Frobisher had shown what he could do in fighting ice, searching out new coasts, and capturing the defenceless ships of the enemy; but what he could do at push of pike or yardarm to yardarm was yet to be proved.

As soon, therefore, as he had severed his connection with the South Sea expedition, or had it severed for him,

[redacted]ase may be, he devoted all his energy to bringing [redacted]Ughtred into commercial relations with the noble- [redacted]o sympathised with Don Antonio's cause. The [redacted]Shrewsbury fell in with the project. Frobisher [redacted]m willing to undertake responsibility, 'but ready [redacted]s out of the way with him.' On the other hand, [redacted]Dr. Hawk, and others were able and willing to [redacted]the ready money for any purpose under the sun, [redacted]the security was good. Here were the very men [redacted]ther, and for providing an expedition in which [redacted]der and shot might be expended.

[redacted]Earl commissioned Frobisher to deal with the [redacted]on his behalf. An agreement was entered into [redacted]Ughtred was to sell and furnish a ship called [redacted]lf for the sum of 2,800*l.* The Earl was to own [redacted]e-fourths of her, and Ughtred the remainder. [redacted]transaction was, of course, on credit, as far as the [redacted]Earl was concerned; but Ughtred trusted not his wealth to the chances of tempests and battle without good security. Until the money should be repaid the 'Earl was to give for an earnest so much velvet good and new as would be sufficient' to cover the amount owing. This was only the beginning of further transactions of the same kind. King Antonio's credit and jewels were to be pledged for the purchase of the remainder of Ughtred's ships. And doubtless the wary shipowner in reserving a share for himself had already received the full value for the proportion sold; and so in addition was enabled to get the character of a sympathetic friend to the Pretender, and the chance of further profits in case of success.

Frobisher had the ships purchased from Ughtred at Plymouth waiting the arrival of Don Antonio when he was committing the indiscretion of sailing by the Queen's windows with the Portuguese flag flying. There was no

limit to the unofficial warfare which Elizabeth pe
her subjects to carry on when it proved profitabl
Crown, and there was no limit to the official wi
which all the royal eyes in Europe were capable
days. But this flaunting of the Portuguese flag c
pass unseen. The Spanish Ambassador had her
of complicity sharp enough to penetrate throu
subterfuge and cut all the red-tape in England.

Just as Don Antonio, with the renowned tr
Hawkins, and Frobisher, was on the point of sail
Plymouth for the rendezvous at Terceira an o
down to stop the departure of the fleet. The Q
she must be paid the 12,000*l.* which she had l
Braganza jewels. The merchants of London l
same dread of the King of Spain as their sov
The money was soon raised among them, and
transferred. It may be mentioned that the security
worth at least three times 12,000*l.* Through the goo
services of the Earls of Leicester and Shrewsbury an orde
was obtained for the release of part of the fleet.

Drake preferred being elected Mayor of Plymouth t
following any further this aspirant for a throne. Perhap
both he and Hawkins, having been mentioned officially i
connection with the expedition, were forbidden to continu
in it. But inasmuch as the battle-hungering Frobishe
was out of other employment in this short interval o
peace, and does not appear elsewhere for the next year o
two, the probabilities are that he went on.

For those who like to picture the future defender o
England preparing himself for the trying days to come, th
fate of the expedition may be told in outline, to be fille
in by the imagination.

The small English fleet during the coming year joined
a large fleet furnished by Catherine. The chief command

en to Philip Strozzi. Don Antonio disembarked on
nd of St. Michael, July 15, 1582, which he captured,
ere he had himself proclaimed King of Portugal.
nnish fleet was in pursuit under Santa Cruz; but
pient king landed all his forces and wore them
marching in his inaugural pomps. Victuals and
er were needed on board the ships; but Strozzi
ieutenants were kept dancing attendance on the
Within a few days, he received intelligence that the
fleet was approaching, and that it was double his
. In his present state, without food or water, he
t flee; to wait the onset seemed equally fatal.
he must; and, putting himself bravely at the
s fleet, he offered battle. But with a few excep-
y captain sought only to cut his way out and
Some succeeded. And if Frobisher was with the
he w[illegible]s one of that number. Four ships fought it out
with immortal courage; and every man taken was put to
the sword, being considered a pirate. It was the dark
deed of Smerwicke repeated in darker colours.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Queen Elizabeth's long and bewildering flirtations with France, Spain, and the Netherlands were apparently ended in 1585 in favour of the latter suitor. The towns commanding the seaboard of the Lowlands were handed over to English garrisons, to be held as pledges for the payment of the money advanced and the expenses of the men supplied to the States-General. Antwerp was in danger of falling before the Duke of Parma's wonderful siege. Antwerp

stood opposite London, and must not, therefore, [redacted] mitted to fall into the hands of the Power that the [redacted] was learning to look upon with Walsingham's eye[s] mortal enemy. Seven thousand men under Davi[s] Sir John Norris were despatched to the relief of t[he] portant seaport, but arrived too late.

At this time a large number of English corn-[ships] in the Spanish ports, tempted thither by the pro[fits] made out of the famine then abroad in the [south] and north-western parts of Spain. No sooner, [however], Elizabeth show a favourable countenance to the [cause] of the revolted provinces than Philip published a [counter] blast. All English ships in his ports were to b[e] the crews imprisoned, and the vessels with thei[r] be added to the Armada then being formed [against] This was in May. Philip had better have b[een] Queen's Government than touched the pocke[ts] of [her] subjects. Thousands of English sailors were thus thrown into prison, hundreds of merchants spoiled of their property.

When the few vessels that had escaped out of the Spanish ports reached England there was great excitement. The ship-owners said they had sent to feed the starving Spaniards and had been robbed for their pains. The people took the vengeance out of the hands of their hesitating sovereign. Their religious instincts and their material interests at last agreed in one line of conduct. They clamoured for the issue of letters of marque and reprisal. If the Queen feared Philip they did not. The seamen had had some profitable experience of his power, and laughingly dubbed him 'a Colossus stuffed with clouts.' Why, they asked, did not the Queen listen to the foremost mariners of England, who all agreed in advising her to carry the war to the enemy's country, or, more accu-

the enemy's seas, and for ever sweep his fleets from
by expeditions to the coasts of Spain, Newfound-
ith America, and the West Indies?
opular excitement was too strong to be resisted
Tudor. The Queen issued the letters demanded.
r subjects who had suffered damage by the
ing's late order of arrest, and any others who
pply, were commissioned to seize all ships and
se belonging to the subjects of Spain. While
ate sea-hawks were taking advantage of this
sailing away on petty depredation a powerful
was being organised. And inasmuch as all
asure, transported in those wonderful carracks
, came as an annual harvest of gold from the
er they would sail, capture the Gold Fleet, and
various depôts of treasure wrung from the poor
ans at what cost even imagination is not sufficient to
estimate.

It is reported that Sir Philip Sidney projected and organised this fleet, 'with purpose to become the head of it himself.' The Queen's favourite was ever planning honourable enterprises, seeking to gain that glory which he seemed so capable of reaping; and the Queen was as persevering in her determination to keep him far from those dangers without facing which men win no glory in the eyes of their fellows.

By September 1585 the fleet had collected at Plymouth. It consisted of twenty-five ships and pinnaces, having on board two thousand three hundred mariners and soldiers.

The foremost vessels and their commanders were:—

Sir Francis Drake, Admiral and General	'Elizabeth Bonaventure.'
Martin Frobisher, Vice-Admiral	'Primrose.'
Francis Knollis, Rear-Admiral	'Leicester.'

The chief commanders of the land forces—
honours of the expedition were beyond question
were:—

Christopher Carleill . . . . . Lieutenant
Anthony Powell . . . . . Sergeant-
Captains Morgan and Sampson . . . Corporals

As the preparations were being completed
Sidney, accompanied by his friend Sir Fulke Gr
on board. But Sir Francis Drake wished for no
One of that noble mariner's weaknesses was no
in sharing honours, however free he might have
money. Information was secretly received in I
source of which may easily be guessed, of
hidden intent. The Queen was alarmed; mes
immediately despatched from the Court, one
a peer—so considerate was Elizabeth in her lovi
—with strict injunctions to stay the favourite's depart
Sir Philip was stayed. Another opportunity for gaining
glory was snatched from him by the fond and no longer
youthful sovereign.

Sir Francis having now got rid of the only object between him and the sun, the fleet set sail on September 14. The winds were light. Their course was shaped for Spain, where a swarm of English privateering hornets was stinging his Catholic Majesty into fury and doing infinite damage to his commerce. They were educating themselves to meet the Invincible Armada.

When the fleet had arrived off the coast of the Peninsula eight or nine small vessels were sighted sailing suspiciously near the shore. Frobisher at once ordered the pinnaces to be manned, and gave chase. It being a dead calm, the Vice-Admiral soon came up with them, only to find that they were Frenchmen, loaded with salt, and that the crews had taken to their boats and fled. Frobisher took

to one of the deserted ships and brought her the fleet, esteeming the craft well adapted for the of their expedition. It is pleasant to learn that, to the free licence of the high seas in those days, was paid for on the return of the English fleet West Indies. She was re-christened the 'Drake.' ng, other Frenchmen returning with fish from land were fallen in with, and permitted to ir way unplundered. The next day a Spaniard, hip, loaded with a cargo of fish called 'Poor chased and captured, 'whereof afterwards there distribution into all the ships of the fleet, the so good and new as it did greatly bestead us le course of our voyage.'

CHAPTER XLVII.

After a few days' further sailing the fleet arrived among the islands at the mouth of Vigo Bay and anchored. The pinnaces and ship-boats were at once manned, the intention being to surprise the City of Bayon. But they had not rowed half a league towards the shore before they were met by a messenger sent by the Governor to learn the object of this threatening and warlike demonstration. The messenger was an English merchant from the town. With him Captain Sampson was sent back to receive answers to two questions: 1. Were Spain and England at war? 2. Why were English men and ships arrested in the King's ports? The Admirals in the meantime made their arrangements to pursue their purpose, whatever might be the result of Captain Sampson's errand.

The messenger presently returned with the
tion that the town, and especially the Govern
seized with a panic; and for answer to the
replied that (1) the Governor knew of no war
for the stay of the merchants with their goods, i
King's pleasure. But the King had since count
that order, and in proof of it the Governor
with Captain Sampson all the Englishmen who
under arrest in the town.

Upon that the Admirals and Lieutenant-Ge
sulted with the released captives; the result of w
determination to go on with their original desig
a force that very night. This was accordingly
the ships stationed so as to cover every point o
Whereupon the Governor, who had already s
humbly, sought further to conciliate the invade
sents of fruit, bread, marmalade, and such like refreshm
About midnight the sky grew overcast and the weath
threatening. Carleill was meditating a return on board,
when the tempest burst, scattering the fleet and driving
them to the open sea. One bark, called the 'Speedwell,'
returned to England. This storm lasted three days. At
the end of that period, the ships of the fleet having re-
gained their stations, Carleill took some vessels and pin-
naces and went up the bay, 'to see what he might do
about Vigo.' There was much profitable plundering to be
done; for he found that the alarmed inhabitants, having
placed their wealth in boats, were making all haste to
escape 'into the high country.' The English sailors
merrily took to this kind of hunt. Household stuff formed
the chief wealth of the panic-stricken fugitives; but
amongst the rest was taken a boat 'laden with the prin-
cipal church stuff of the church of Vigo, where also was
their great cross of silver, of very fair embossed work, and

[redacted]ilt all over.' This capture afforded special delight [redacted]Protestants, so lately emancipated from the bond-[redacted]neats, drinks, seasons, and attitudes. But a few [redacted]erwards, their great contemporary wrote: 'The [redacted]hat men do leave are hated most of them they [redacted]ve.'

[redacted]eet now took up its station in front of the town [redacted] The Governor of Gallicia had in the meantime [redacted], and had drawn up on the shore a force fully [redacted]hat of the English. But when the ships formed [redacted]e Governor's courage rapidly oozed away, and [redacted]led the notion of a battle in favour of parley. [redacted]ange of hostages Frobisher went ashore in his [redacted] bring the Governor out midway, where the [redacted]mmanders were to hold conference with him. [redacted]rd assented to every demand. Water and pro-[redacted]uld be supplied, and every prisoner in his hands [redacted]d. The English on their part agreed to pay for [redacted]got; but since they had Spanish property newly [redacted] the value of thirty thousand ducats in their [redacted] was superb hypocrisy; yet the Governor [redacted]t to discuss what was honesty under the circum-[redacted]es.

The whole country was by this time in a state of mingled alarm and rage at the audacity of the Englishmen, and Philip the Prudent was ponderously discussing with his Council of State the simplest way of putting every man in the expedition to the sword. But while Queen Elizabeth, trembling once more for her ships and subjects, was about to open negotiations with the Spanish monarch to gain his permission for the safe return of the fleet, these courageous sea-dogs, who had thus paused to show their teeth, sailed away for the Canaries.

The island of Palma was the first point of attac[redacted]

Here the commanders had determined to work th
sure. Here were many luxuries to be gathered a
things obtained. But they reckoned amiss. The
entrance into the harbour, the heavily-armed
with which they found it fortified, but chiefly, as
in their own defence, the heavy swell surging in
Atlantic, persuaded them of the advisability of
elsewhere for 'such general good things' as
looked for. So the fleet sailed away in mortifi
'with the receipt of many of their cannon s
into our ships, and some besides, some being f
high.'

The neighbouring island of Ferro was the se
aimed at. A quiet spot, lying under a high
was approached, and a thousand men landed wit
ruption. The inhabitants sent out an amicable
headed by a 'young fellow born in England.'
a pitiable tale to tell: they were all very poor;
being able to contribute anything they rather c
as they were on the point of starvation. The
them the compliment of believing their stor
with sailed away for the coast of the mainland.

Having doubled Cape Blanche, the ships spread over the bay to gather a fresh store of fish, while the commanders drew alongside of some French men-of-war lying at anchor and entered upon a rivalry of courtesies. In the afternoon of the same day they resumed their voyage, and on November 16 came in sight of St. Jago, in the Cape de Verde group. General Carleill, with a thousand men, landed at nightfall between St. Jago and Porta Praya. Having no guide, Carleill postponed his advance until daybreak. The ground was very rough, and the men were compelled to make their way in detachments as best they could: but no opposition was offered, and an eminence

CHAPTER XLVIII.

[redacted] have been far better for the expedition to have the same treatment at St. Jago as at Palma, and off a few more Spanish cannon-balls in their hulls, have been allowed their idle two weeks ashore and carried off what they did. Within a week of their from St. Jago to run across to the West Indies a lady broke out on board. Eighteen days only sailing from the Cape de Verde group until in with the West India group, but within that reat a number perished that the reckoning of lost, for Captain Bigges says generally there three hundred cast overboard. Different ideas s to the nature of the malady, some holding it low fever, others recognising certain small spots those afflicted with the plague.

point touched at in the New World was Do- e southernmost of the Leeward Isles. The only beings found here were savages, nude, finely formed, full painted; but they knew enough of Europeans to distinguish between Englishmen and Spaniards. They doubtless, like all the natives who had any intercourse with the Spaniards, had learned what can be inflicted by cultivated ferocity. They had a Spaniard or two in captivity. But the English they received kindly, though Cates was inclined to think no man of any nation could place much confidence in them. They assisted the English in taking a fresh supply of water on board. They trafficked in tobacco, cassava, beads, etc.

St. Christopher, another island of the same group, was

next approached. This they found uninhabited. mas was spent on shore. The sick were brought o efforts made to stay the plague still raging. The A Lieutenant-General, and captains consulted here a future course of action. It was resolved to attac niola, or St. Domingo, as it is now named. T town of the island was famed for its wealth, and a few leagues to the west. The fleet consequentl its course in that direction; and when athwart P a sail was sighted. Frobisher, with characteris tuosity, gave chase and soon overhauled her. S to be a small frigate bound for the same dest themselves. The English commanders had so ledge of the dangerous ground-swell that surro island as with an army; and this capture wa mable value. For Frobisher, having closely those on board, found among them a pilot well with the port and adjacent shores. This ma the Vice-Admiral that the haven was barred an fied, having a strong castle, heavily armed was a convenient and unprotected landing-p beyond the port, and thither he offered to pilot th

To this man's direction the fleet was now d The landing-place ten miles west of the town o Domingo was reached; and, in spite of the surge that threatened to capsize every boat, the whole force, amounting to about a thousand men, was landed under Carleill.

The fleet had not sailed by the town unperceived, nor were they unopposed on landing. A cavalry force of about one hundred and fifty men was disposed to dispute the advance of the invaders. They rode around Carleill's men seeking a weak point for charging, but saw only a bristling hedge of pikes on every side. A volley of small-shot taught them how near they might approach without harm.

nglish were still marching eastward, parallel with
re; their plan being to attack the city gates which
seawards. Both were strongly manned; and had
niards kept their troops behind the fortifications
lt might have been in their favour. But as the
drew near to the town, bringing out of their hiding-
ore than one ambuscade, they had in front of them
erly host of footmen and horsemen in retreat.
Carleill placed half his force under Captain
nstructing him to attack one of the gates while
imultaneously attacked the other, adding 'that
's good favor he would not rest until their
n the market-place.'

e same instant the order was given to charge.
s advanced at the run. The ordnance at the
red one broadside upon them; but before the
ld be reloaded the English and Spaniards,
ellmell, entered the gates together. The Plaza
and barricaded; the garrison fled at the uproar,
habitants followed their example, hurrying across
our to the open country.

e opening of negotiations with the Spaniards, who,
ugh they had lost the gates and the castle, still held
ne portions of the suburbs, was very unfortunate, and
brought out the iron and blood character of the English
commanders.

A negro boy was sent with a flag of truce to the other side, and on his way fell in with the officers of a Spanish galley which the English had taken. One of them sprang on the boy and ran him through the body with a lance. The boy staggered back to the General, and, having briefly told his story, dropped dead at the officer's feet. Drake fell into a great rage, and immediately commanded the provost-marshal to take two

friars in his charge down to the scene of the mur
hang them on the spot. It was done. Friars repr
the enemy to these Protestants far more real
Spanish soldiers. This bloody and speedy ve
having been exacted, Drake sent over a prisoner t
the Spaniards that what had been done was only
ment of punishment, and that until the guilty o
delivered into his hands daily hangings should
long as he had a Spaniard in his power. Next
captain of the captured galley brought over the
and offered to deliver him up; but Drake
officer take the culprit to the scene of his crime
him himself. This also was done.

The Spaniards having now been brought to
frame of mind, the ransom of the town was
The authorities were disposed to talk too mucl
perhaps that the English could better afford to
demands than tarry. But the English kne
quicken the deliberations of the ponderous
señors. Two hundred sailors were told off eve
to burn from the outskirts inwards. But they fo
houses so solidly built of stone that this was not
work. With this kind of sport the time crept on. E
day there was less to ransom, while the English seer
disposed to proportionately increase their demands.

Although the flames drew each day nearer the Plaza and the church, the governor did not immediately lose his faith in talk and his own ability to beat down the sea-kings. He was not ashamed to admit that the Indians were already extinct on the island, and that the mines were in consequence unworked. In so short a time had the heartless cruelty of the white man put an end to the natives. At last twenty-five thousand ducats (about seven

d pounds) were accepted as the ransom of what re-
of the scorched town.

most notable features of the city were its solidity
ture and great extent,—evidences of the slavery
l brought the slaves to extinction. There was
king's house, entered by a large stairway; and
to him that entered was painted a design that
me merriment among the English. It was the
n of the Spanish king, the lower part of which
osed of a globe; on the globe was painted a
his hind legs as in the act of leaping off, and
his mouth a scroll bearing this inscription:—
it orbis.

mmissioners who came thither to treat with
h about the ransom were asked the meaning of
they knew no answer was expected, and turned
away with mortified pride which they sought
der a smile. But the English bluntly asked
nsider what a comment on such a boast was
nt occupation of the palace, adding a side-
their own sovereign; for, said they, if their queen
resolutely prosecuted the wars, their king would find
it more than enough to keep what he already had.

Having abundantly and freely supplied the ships with strong wine, olives, corn, etc., the fleet sailed away for the mainland, having held possession of St. Domingo thirty days.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CARTAGENA, on the coast of New Granada, was next assailed. The entrance to the harbour was found to be very narrow

and strongly barred with a chain. So the fleet arrival anchored in the roadstead under the town, night had landed a force under the command of t cessful Lieutenant-General. The inexperience guide led them astray, but the lapping of th directed the General in the way of returning to t again. Becoming henceforth his own pioneer, manded his captains to follow along the sand to t They were about two miles from their destinat they were suddenly charged by some of the cavalry. A volley of small-shot quite satisfied t the advance went on almost uninterrupted.

At that instant Frobisher opened fire on His part was to make a false attack on the mouth of the haven and in every way distract t Having, therefore, manned the pinnaces and rowed to the inner harbour and the chain; bu changing many rounds of shot, both large and having had the rudder of his own skiff carried saker shot, it was seen that the attack must not to pass beyond a feint, for the place was very stron

In the meantime Carleill was making his way in darkness along a narrow peninsula between the main sea and the harbour. This neck of land at its narrowest point was found to be fortified. A stone wall, with a ditch in front and having flanking bastions, ran from sea to sea. A small opening through which the cavalry retreated was strongly barricaded with wine-butts filled with earth. This position was armed with 'six great pieces, demi-culverins and sakers;' that is, twenty-four, nine, and five pounders. Behind it stood three hundred men awaiting the attack. On either flank a large galley was anchored holding about three hundred musketeers.

As soon as the English were heard approaching in the

ss every piece opened fire. Carleill at once per- that their aim was along the middle of the cause- he commanded his men to march along the side, in the waves. By the light of their pieces he also ut the barricaded opening, which was on his left t the water's edge. His men were strictly com- to reserve their fire until they were within pike's f the enemy. Thus they crept up out of harm's ile the Spaniards were delivering a stream of iron l down the road, until they came under the wall eath the pike-heads of the Spaniards. Then a nset was made on the barricade. Their first as delivered 'even at the enemies' nose;' in noment 'down went the butts of earth, and pell- e our swords and pikes together.' This hand-to- ntest lasted but for a minute. The English had ntage in the length of pike, and pushed the back. Carleill cut down the enemy's standard- h his own hand; and the advance towards the s again resumed. The column was much harassed e Indian allies of the Spaniards, who were supposed use poisoned arrows, and had planted sharp-pointed sticks in the ground, also poisoned. Bigges says many died though but scratched by these weapons: though he gives none of the symptoms. Drake had himself some experience of these things when under Hawkins on the Coast of Guinea. Then the wounded 'died in strange sort with their mouths shut some ten days before they died, and after their wounds were whole.' In spite of the aboriginal miniature *chevaux de frise*, the English followed hard on the heels of the retreating Spaniards, and found instead of a wall a strong barricade and ditch across the head of every street. But these were defended with no heart, and the Plaza was soon occupied. Thereupon the

Spaniards and their allies placidly gave up the c
and went to join their wives in the country, whith
had been sent for safety.

The mortality still continued among the Engli
it was ascribed now to the evening chill called *La*
They named the disease the Calenture. On this
the intended attack on Nombre de Dios and Pan
to be abandoned. The town being ransomed, tl
hasten away with their reduced and ailing crews.

But the ransom did not come at once. There
same delays and the same quickening process by
here as at St. Domingo. Cartagena though sm
much wealthier than the former town, and so the
demand was much more. While the circle of
drawing daily towards the centre a sad event
The sentinel on the church-tower espied two sn
making towards the harbour. Captains Varney a
were sent with two small pinnaces to interc
before they could correspond with the shore.
barks seem to have been informed of the state
and at the sight of the pinnaces ran ashore. The
came up leisurely and boarded the stranded ships. But
the bushes near at hand an ambuscade was set; and whil
the English were standing openly on the barks the hidden
enemy fired off their pieces. Both the captains were
killed and four or five of their men wounded at this first
fire.

After some weeks the scorching did its work: the
ransom demanded, amounting to one hundred and ten
thousand ducats, was paid. The English were persuaded
that they had asked too little; besides, the poisoned arrows
and the killing of the two captains had not been recom-
pensed. So they remarked, on the receipt of the money, that
the town indeed had been ransomed, but not so the abbey

tle which stood without the town boundaries. For these a thousand crowns more must be paid. The ds thought it time to be done with the English, t by return the ransom of the abbey. As for the hey said it was not worth the money—let the do what they liked with it. Their pleasure was me powder under the walls and blow the structure air.

veeks had now been spent in this unhealthy town, made haste to sail homewards. An accident to he ships compelled a return, and ten more days nt here in transferring her cargo to the other

heir return voyage they touched at Cape St. on the western extremity of Cuba, to take in a fresh water. The spirits of the men were so by the malady that, to encourage them, the went ashore and toiled like ordinary seamen at the water. It was remarked that those who red from the Calenture and escaped were for a ne afterwards 'much decayed in their memory; much that it was grown an ordinary judgment when one was heard to speak foolishly, to say that he had been sick with the Calenture.'

CHAPTER L.

TOWARDS the close of the month of May, the fleet was coasting along Florida with the view of visiting the newly-founded colony in Virginia, according to the Queen's command, when the look-out espied something like a

beacon some distance inland. On closer examin
was seen to be a lofty platform elevated on fo
The boats were manned, and a force landed to spy
country. The river of St. Augustine at this point
into the sea. And the men having marched up t
bank about a mile came suddenly upon a fort. N
the fleet had any knowledge of a settlement in th
So their surprise was great to find this strongl
that it protected an unwalled village built of wood
shot were fired at the fort; the first pierced th
the second struck the wall composed of massive lo
gave the commander some notion of its stre
retreat was sounded on this; Carleill intending t
a position within musket-range under the cloak
ness. So that night the Lieutenant-General t
and six men to reconnoitre the place. They wer
to be approaching secretly and silently; but
have made no small clatter, for the hundred an
diers in the fort hearing these seven men advanc
the whole English force was upon them and
haste. Carleill and his men being satisfied wi
secret examination of the position, and not knowing
thing of the retreat, which had been effected less boister
ously than their approach, returned to the skiff and went
on board. Close after them, in a little boat, came the
second runaway Frenchman met with here. As soon as
he was out of reach of the Spaniards he felt that he was
getting into danger from the English; so, to secure his
safety, he began to play on his fife in the darkness the one
tune which he thought must be familiar to the English,
and which could not proceed from a Papist reed. The
tune was the 'Prince of Orange.' It was successful. The
guard-boat hailed to know who he was and what he wanted.
He was a French fifer; and he wanted to inform the

[redacted] of the sudden abandonment of the fort. He was [redacted]tting in his little boat when Drake, Carleill, and [redacted]ptains sprang into one boat, Frobisher and his men [redacted]other, and taking the Frenchman in, began a race [redacted]e, followed by some pinnaces.

[redacted]w unawed Spaniards were on shore to dispute their [redacted]; and having fired off a couple of cannon which [redacted]l planted, but without effect, went to join their countrymen in the village. The fort was found [redacted]ied. It was strongly built of great logs set on end [redacted]ed with fourteen great pieces of brass ordnance. [redacted]e of the garrison had been so great that they had [redacted]d them the military chest containing two thou- [redacted]nds. When daylight came, it was seen that some [redacted]of the St. Augustine river intervened between the [redacted]he village. The troops therefore went back to [redacted]es and rowed up the river. On approaching the [redacted]re was again a feeble and spasmodic attempt at [redacted]; but the English no sooner set foot on land than [redacted]ards fled. Captain Powell, charging at the head [redacted]en, came unfortunately upon a horse ready saddled [redacted] bridled. This he mounted, and, as a troop of one, pursued the fugitives. A Spaniard who had hidden behind a bush fired upon him as he passed, and brought him to the ground; and by the time his men came up he was found stabbed in many places and dead. In revenge for this loss the whole village was laid waste.

About twelve leagues up the coast, they were informed, was another Spanish settlement, called St. Helena. Thither they now shaped their course; but, on coming athwart the place, found the shoals so dangerous that it was thought prudent to abandon the enterprise and hasten on to Virginia.

On June 9, having arrived in the neighbourhood

where they expected to find the English colony s
the previous year by Sir Walter Raleigh, and s
great fire on land, they sent a skiff ashore. At t
they found a party of their own countrymen, who in
them that the place which they used as their p
near at hand. But the entrance to it was so shall
most of the ships were compelled to anchor in an
roadstead. Master Ralph Lane, Governor of the
had established his head-quarters on the island of R
which was so protected by shallows as to be bey
reach of any attack by ships of war, and whic
leagues from their port. By one of the colonis
sent a letter to Lane offering either to take him
men back to England, or, if he still considered t
might be continued, a full supply of all such n
as he had on board, together with a ship and pi
the service of the settlement. The Governor d
accepting the latter offer. A ship was accordi
off; but before the transfer could be made
tempest scattered the ships in the roadstead, a
them the vessel intended for the colony, which ha
her anchors, and was not seen again until the return o
expedition to England. Many pinnaces and boats also
were lost in this storm.

Whatever remained of Master Lane's determination to persevere in his endeavour to civilise the New World was dispelled by this event. He changed his mind, though another ship was offered him, and brought his men and chattels on board. And one chattel there was destined to have an enduring history. In returning from his first voyage to the American continent, Frobisher had assisted in bringing home a certain 'black stone' that had moved all England. In returning from his last voyage to the same land, he assisted in bringing a curious herb that should

affect all the world, and draw into the national coffers more treasure than was conveyed in all the majestic carracks of Spain. For among his curiosities brought over from the new land Ralph Lane had the first parcel ever imported into England of that herb which has been variously surnamed 'the stinking weed,' 'the healing plant,' 'the delicious luxury;' which was christened after the island of Tobago; which lighted up the feeble thunders of the pedant that succeeded to the throne of the Tudors; which has been the parent of much pleasure, much harm, much sociability, much anger, much wealth, and one modern reforming society.

The booty brought home was valued at sixty thousand pounds, and two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance. One-third of this plunder was distributed among the reduced crews; for during the voyage seven hundred and fifty altogether had perished. The fleet arrived in Portsmouth on July 28, 1586, 'to the great glory of God, and to no small honor to our Prince, our Country and Ourselves.'

CHAPTER LI.

THE year 1587 was a great year for England and Protestantism. The Spanish Empire with a foot on either world was secretly harnessing for the battle; yet not so quietly but that the ringing of the hammers was heard by those who had ears to hear.

Leicester, on behalf of Queen Elizabeth, had been playing the king in the Netherlands for not quite a year, and had been successful in setting all the Nassaus, Ho-

henlos, and burghers by the ears, besides putting the Queen in a terrible rage with him. In November 1586 he fled out of the hornets' nest which he had himself disturbed, and ran home to make his peace with the Queen: in which he was before long successful.

During his absence the Duke of Parma made the first direct movement towards the invasion of England. Philip of Spain, enraged by the help which the English Queen had given to the Netherlands and Don Antonio, and, above all, at the expedition to the West Indies, had resolved on an enterprise which the foremost mariners of England were in vain trying to induce their sovereign to undertake, namely, the carrying of the war to the enemy's country. The Duke of Parma should command the expedition. But between him and the chalk cliffs were two obstacles. There was the English Channel to be crossed in the teeth of the sea-dogs. Philip would send the Invincible Armada to form a line of floating fortresses from shore to shore; under the protection of their cannon Parma, with his fleet of hoys and barges bearing his Invincibles, should row across as pleasantly as on the Guadalquiver.

But Parma was not in a position to collect the hoys and barges. All the coast-line was in the power of the Netherlands and England. For the Dutch had handed over to the English certain cautionary towns as security for the repayment of various advances made by Elizabeth. One of those towns was Sluys, situated at the mouth of the West Scheldt and looking straight across into the mouth of the Thames. To this Parma laid siege while Leicester, having made his peace with the Queen, was still dawdling about the Court. Elizabeth had a spasm of resolution, and for a brief space was worthy of her better self.

The Armada preparing at Cadiz and Lisbon should be looked after. And so Drake was sent down to 'singe the

King of Spain's beard.' And as for this determined attempt to take Sluys, Leicester with three thousand men and a portion of the loan asked for by the States-General should immediately return. But this resolution had come after too many delays and hesitations.

Leicester embarked with his force at Margate Roads on board a fleet which in all probability was under the command of Frobisher. For he now was Admiral of the Channel Fleet, or 'the ships in the narrow seas,' as the expression then ran. Leicester landed too late. The fate of Sluys was sealed.

While Parma, having gained this convenient harbour, was hastening on his part the preparations for the invasion, Frobisher was running backwards and forwards between England and the opposite shore transporting men, victuals, money; gathering information of the enemy's plans, which he reported to little effect; chasing every boat, bark, and ship that traversed his tempestuous dominions, and capturing everything that savoured of the Spaniard.

There is a letter written by his own hand of this period which shows how little pains his maternal uncle, Sir John Yorke, had spent on the boy's education, and how fortunate a thing it was for the records that he never came into possession of the office of Clerk to the Navy. Up to this time he had trusted to the hired scrivener; but Sir Francis Drake was free with his pen, and John Hawkins sometimes essayed a letter; so Frobisher doubtless felt that it became the Admiral of the Channel Fleet to write with his own hand. Mariners in all times have been more or less uncertain in their orthography, but Frobisher came very near anticipating the phonetic system, and doubtless gives the words according to the common pronunciation of his time; while his punctuation

is pardonable, inasmuch as the period and colon alone were in use. The letter runs:—

'My humble dewttye my honorable good Lord att my last retorne in to Englande I aquanted my Lord Admerall with the report of the preparassione att Andwarpe and that I thought your Excelince woulde resave it thynkefullye if the shepes thatt I hadd in the narrow Saes myghte come to yo^{r} Excelince untill there pretince were understande, and presintelye my Lorde seinte me order to tayke in the tresure and so refarde me to yo^{r}. Excelince dericksione for that sarves. I understande by me Lorde Governare of fflushine he heres no forther of it: I left the cattoes to staye att Margett for y^{r} atteye accordinge to yo^{r} Excelince letter: I seinte yo^{r} Excelince letters bye Lewese in the chacrtes that I hope thaye were att Courte the 15 daye at nyghte. My Lorde Admerall wryttes to me thatt her Ma^{jty} dothe much excepte some thinge done ffor slewse as S^{r} Thomas Sherlay is able to advartes yo^{r} Excelince of here owne mouthe. I understande yo^{r} Excelince wolde have a louinge Botte: the loinge botte my Lord Admerall hade here were a sarvesable a botte for yo^{r} excelince as a galleye and better for this countrye yf it plese yo^{r} excelince to wrytt to mye Lord for her she shallbe her withe as much spyde as may be. I mette with a nomber of holkes and flebotte and thay past all in yo^{r} Excelince name under the towne selles of Hollaund. I understand thaye grant them to the Enemy withe blanke so we canenott knowe the on ffrome the other. Maye it plese yo^{r} Excilence that by some synemente or by some selle of yo^{r} owne with theres we maye knowe whome to staye and whoo to lettpase. I was comynge to have done my dewttye to yo^{r} Excelince butt the wynde was dowttefull and owr vettelles wer spente for since my Comynge fourthe

I hayd butt 3 dayes libertye to louke after the dunkyrkes with geving attendance of the tresure. I humble crave yo^r excelince to pardone me for thatt mye charge is the cawse I for bere to come for whele God gevethe me lyfe yowe shall finde me dewttefull and ffathefull to youe and youres. Thus I rest withe my humble prare to the Almeighte ffor the prosperus estatte of yo^r excelince to the glorye of God and the greatt honore of owr Countrye. Thes 17 of September 1587.

'Yo^r excelince most Bounde

'MARTIN FROBISER.'

This letter was written on board ship off Flushing, and addressed to the Earl of Leicester, who, after his failure to raise the siege of Sluys, had leisure to think about a galley in which to make a royal show on the Dutch canals. The Hollanders cruising in the Scheldt effectually blockaded Parma in Antwerp and Sluys, where Frobisher had heard of the great preparations going on; for the secret of the Spanish plot was leaking out. But Sir William Russell, Governor of Flushing, knew nothing of it. Walsingham, Lord Howard, the sailors and merchants, could hear and understand, and refused to embrace the delusive hopes held out by Spain.

But there were Dunkirk and Nieuport also to be watched and barred. This was Frobisher's task, made so ineffectual by these ship's papers issued in blank under the town seals of Holland, and by means of which English, Dutch, and French bottoms carrying the enemy's goods could pass under his nose defiantly. Three days only could be spared to look after the Spanish preparations in Dunkirk. The Earl of Leicester must have the attendance of the fleet and Admiral.

CHAPTER LII.

THE Duke of Parma was ready with his part of the enterprise in the spring of 1588. The flower of the troops of the world had been gathered together. But the swamps of the Netherlands proved more fatal to them than the weapons of their enemies. The engraved corselets and gilded armour of the invincible Terzio of Naples were not proof against the fevers that now assailed them. It was estimated that Parma's 60,000 soldiers were reduced to half that number of serviceable men. Still he pushed on his preparations with undiminished vigour. All the reconquered provinces, now going under the name of Belgium, rang with the sounds of hammers and axes making ready boats, oars, rafts, floating bridges, etc. And when summer opened he lay in the ports of Sluys, Nieuport, and Dunkirk in all readiness for the invasion. He wanted but one thing, namely, the scattering of the cruisers blockading his three harbours; and that the Armada was to perform.

The great Spanish fleet, christened, with the sponsors' characteristic lack of prophetic sight, the 'Invincible,' was also ready in the ports of Spain and Portugal, having fully recovered from the mischievous singeing received from the expedition under Drake of the year before. But its departure was delayed by the death of Santa Cruz, the iron marquis, and the best seaman in Spain. It was he who had sunk the fleet of Don Antonio off St. Michael's, and the planning of the invasion had been his work. By his direction the Duke of Parma had been allotted his share of the enterprise, and it was he who was to have commanded the whole expedition. Philip had to find a new Captain-General. The Armada was placed under the

Duke of Medina Sidonia, who was a brave man, but no sailor. It was to sail to Calais Roads, and, after a junction had been effected there with the Duke of Parma, the chief command was to be assumed by Alexander Farnese.

Cardinal Allen was wielding the thunderbolts of the Church to further the Spanish designs. He was in the Netherlands waiting to cross over. And to pave the way he had there 'published his Crusado in print as it were against Turks and Infidels,' and scattered it broadcast throughout the Queen's dominions. Its contents are too foul for reproduction. Its aim was to stir up the Catholics to throw off the allegiance which they did not, in his estimation, owe to a heretic.

But these were not all the dangers of the realm or all the designs of the enemies of Protestantism. A descent was to be made on the Irish coast to stir up the easily disaffected islanders. The Guise faction in France had planned an expedition to sail out of their western ports to cross the Channel under the rear of the Armada and land on the coasts of the West Country. Having then secured a foothold while the English were at tug of war with the Spaniards, the partisans of Guise would put in their claim for the English crown.

It was time for Elizabeth to awake out of her lethargy and pour out the half-million reserve. A letter of Lord Howard's to Walsingham gives a very good idea of the state of England, and the Queen's continued fondness for the Duke of Parma's 'Judas kisses.' It is dated March 9, and written from Margate Roads:—

'Sir,—As I made up my other letter Captain Frobisher doth advertise me that he spake with two ships that came presently from Lisbon, who declared unto him for certainty the King of Spain's fleet doth part from Lisbon unto the Groyne (Corunna) the 15th of this month by their account.

Sir, there is none that comes from Spain but brings this advertisement, and if it be true I am afraid it will not be helped when the time serveth. Surely this charge that Her Majesty is at is either too much or too little, and the stay that is made of Sir Francis Drake going out I am afraid will breed great peril, and if the King of Spain do send forces either into this Realm, Ireland, or Scotland, the Queen's Majesty shall say—"The Duke of Parma is treating of a peace, and therefore it is not princely done of his master to do so in the time of treaty"—but what is that to the purpose if we have by that a Casado. And if Her Majesty cannot show the King's hand his servant's hand will be but a bad warrant, if they have their wish.'

Thus while the Queen was still being entertained by Parma with compliments and conditions of peace the Lord-Admiral was at his wits' end to devise what to do. Drake was at Plymouth gathering a fleet of privateers. Seymour and Winter were also gathering some vessels together, while Her Majesty's four great ships of war, the backbone of her fleet, must not be placed in commission or moved from Chatham. Two days later Howard writes again: 'For Her Majesty's four great ships I am out of hope to see them abroad, what need soever shall be if things fall out, as it is most likeliest, they shall be *to keep Chatham Church when they should serve the turn abroad.* They look daily at Dunkirk for 1200 mariners out of France, but if I have knowledge in any time, I hope to stop their coming out, and so the better able to look some other way.'

The Queen's difficulty was this: the more preparation was made for war the more the King of Spain would take it ill, and the less would he be disposed for peace. Still the King of Spain was making great preparation on his

part, and she must not leave her coasts naked. She loved peace because it was economical.

Howard was speaking to deaf ears when he pleaded with the Queen to repeat the prosperous expedition of Drake to the coasts of Spain. Destroy the ships of the Armada at their moorings and in their own ports was his simple plan. 'But what would become of peace?' retorted the Queen.

Three weeks later the Lord-Admiral writes concerning the galley 'Elizabeth Bonaventure,' which had been to the West Indies and Cadiz, and which the Queen would have put in a dry dock to be overhauled: 'I think there is no man of judgment but doth think it most meet for her to be abroad now, being summer; lord, when should she serve if not at such a time as this is; either she is fit now to serve or fit for the fire, and I will never hereafter wish Her Majesty to be at the charge of keeping of her, for I hope never in my time to see so great cause for her to be yoused.' The writer had a shrewd guess as to where the shoe pinched Her Majesty. 'I fear me much, and with grief I think it that Her Majesty relieth upon a hope that will deceive her, and greatly endanger her, and then it will not be her money, nor her jewels that will help, for as they will do good in time, so will they help nothing for the redeeming of time being lost.'

In like manner all the leading men of the nation, with two or three exceptions, spoke their mind, but to little purpose. As the demands grew her parsimony grew also. The men's rations were changed from the English diet of beef and mutton to the Peninsular food of fish and oil. But two pence a man a day were saved. The price paid for this economy was discontent and dysentery. The munitions and provisions were dealt out in such doles that a week's supply to the good was rare in any ship. From

hand to mouth they lived. But the Queen was serving two ends by this. She made the expedition to the coast of Spain impossible: for that could not be undertaken without a good store. Again, she anticipated the effect on prudent commanders of having but uncertain doles sent to them by convoys dependent on the winds. Short rations were the only remedy when the wind blew from the west; and thus again a good round sum was saved. It is unnecessary to point out that it was money stolen out of the pinched stomachs of men who were out to die for their country.

Lord Howard had in vain tried to induce the Queen to stay the departure of all merchant ships for the season; but he had obtained the release of the four great ships from their anchorage under Chatham Church; and in the month of May he sailed away from Margate Roads. Frobisher, relieved of his Channel command, which was assumed by Lord Henry Seymour, accompanied the Lord-Admiral. Lord Henry's fleet had grown during the last few weeks to some twenty sail. These now took up their station abreast of Dunkirk. Lord Howard and Frobisher sailed with him, and carefully examined the Netherlands and French shores on their way to Plymouth, where they arrived towards the end of the month. Drake was awaiting their arrival with some forty sail.

The Lord-Admiral had not relinquished his plan for carrying the war to the enemy's coasts, and now set about the execution of it. But the Queen had heard of it, and had forbidden their going so far. 'Sir,' writes Howard to Walsingham, 'for the meaning that we had to go on the Coast of Spain it was deeply debated by those which I think the world doth judge to be men of greatest experience that this realm hath, which are these—Sir Francis Drake, Mr Hawkins, Mr Frobisher and Mr Thomas Fenner.' After paying this high compliment to his

captains he proceeds to show that they cannot afford to wait for the Spaniards; their provisions would be spent while the Queen still talked of peace, and 'when our victuals be consumed in gazing for them, what shall become of us?'

The fleet sailed out of Plymouth and cruised for a week in the Sleeve, between Ushant and Scilly, and was driven before a terrible storm to run back for refuge into Plymouth.

The Armada had been caught in the same tempest and scattered before the wind. One of the great galleys went down with all hands on board. A Welsh sailor named Gwynn, who was a slave on board a second galley, was called to assist the captain with his greater skill in seamanship. Gwynn managed it so that the two hundred and fifty galley slaves were liberated and every Spaniard slain. Having assumed the armour of their dead masters they put their ship before the wind and dashed into a third galley. This also was captured and the slaves liberated. Then David Gwynn sailed away to France with his two great Spanish galleys and nearly five hundred liberated slaves. The remainder of the Armada succeeded in getting safely into Corunna for shelter and repairs.

When this tempest first broke the two fleets had arrived nearly in sight of each other. After it had swept by, Lord Howard again took counsel with those whom he had chosen for his advisers. 'I made choice of these whose names I here write,' says Howard, 'to be counsellors of this service, and made them all to be sworn to be secret;—Sir Francis Drake, Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Sir Roger Williams, Mr Hawkins, Mr Frobisher, and Mr Tho. Fenner.' Again the fleet sailed away in search of the Armada, for the Queen had heard that it was destroyed, and that the war was at an end, at least for that

year, and had talked of calling the four great ships back to Chatham, to cut down expenditure. The Lord-Admiral therefore thought very naturally that the only safety for the fleet was to cruise out of the reach of pursuivants with royal despatches. The wind was in their favour until they came athwart Finisterre; but then changing to the south, the aspect of affairs was entirely altered. The north wind would keep the Spaniards in Corunna until the English arrived; but as it blew now the Armada might pass the English fleet unobserved and work its will in the Channel. Howard therefore made all haste back to Plymouth, leaving a pinnace or two to cruise in the Sleeve on outpost duty, as it were, and with orders to bring intelligence of the first appearance of the Armada.

CHAPTER LIII.

It has ever been a problem unsolved how to economically keep a ship's hull clear of weeds, barnacles, etc. The seamen of Elizabeth's time used to cover the ship's bottom with thin planking, which they often changed. While now conflicting rumours came in quick succession as to the movements of the Armada, the English captains were making ready for the battle. Two days before the prelude of the fray Lord Howard was talking of demobilising his forces. 'When it shall please Her Majesty,' he says, 'that this army shall be dissolved, it shall be most beneficial to Her Majesty that money be had here in a readiness to discharge such as be of this country.' But in the meantime the four great ships were being put 'in most

royal and perfect state,' says John Hawkins proudly, for he had been, as it were, the designer and constructor of these ships, the seaboard of which was lower and the lines finer than was then in vogue. There were those who shook their heads at this innovation, and said they would be unwilling to adventure as far as the coast of Spain in any one of them. 'They cast many doubts,' says the veteran, 'how these ships will behave themselves on the high seas;' but he saw no more danger in them than in other ships of the fleet. One day the 'Bear' sprang a leak, and immediately the croakers made a great ado; but when she had been lightened of her ordnance and her ballast taken out, though some said she ought to be sent home, the leak stopped of itself, and the 'Bear' resumed her station. He admits that he was not pleased with the treatment which the ships were receiving. 'They stick not,' he says, 'to ground them often to tallow, to wash or any such small cause which is a most sure trial of the goodness of the ships, where they are able to abide the ground, and yet not a spoonful of water was to be found in their wells.'

How the captains were engaged during those few days of waiting is made plain by this letter. The four great ships were to bear the brunt of the coming contest, and this washing and tallowing of the hulls during the ebb tide was to them as the whetting of the sword and the sharpening of the spear. The Spanish fleet had been placed under the command of a landsman, but the English admirals and captains were sailors all, and well they knew how much depended on a clean keel; and that more battles are won by swiftness than by force. Seamanship was to decide the coming wager of battle between Protestantism and Popery.

The four great ships that were to perform so much, and for which so much anxiety was felt, were:

The Triumph .	. 1,100 tons,	500 men	. Captain Martin Frobisher.
The White Bear	. 1,000 „	500 „	. Lord Sheffield.
The Elizabeth Jonas	900 „	500 „	. Sir Robert Southwell.
The Victory . .	800 „	400 „	. Captain John Hawkins.

The flagship was the 'Ark Raleigh,' or, as some write it, the 'Ark Royal,' of 800 tons, with 400 men on board, under Lord Howard. They had been thoroughly examined more than once and Hawkins's confidence was not misplaced in them, for though they had seen some service 'they feel that they have been at sea no more than if they had ridden at Chatham.' The real weakness of the English fleet lay in their scant supply of powder, shot, meat, bread, and the sour, poisonous beer which was dealt out. The one wish of every heart was that either provisions might arrive or the Armada. The sluggish ships of the King of Spain proved swifter than the Queen's convoys.

The Armada, having spent twenty-eight days at Corunna to make good the damage sustained in the tempest, resumed its course on July 12, just as the Queen, the open-eyed Walsingham, and perhaps Howard also, were thinking that the Spanish ships would come no farther that year. The Duke of Medina captured an English fisherman off Scilly, from whom he learned that a fleet was awaiting him in Plymouth. For that port, therefore, the Armada should sail and sink the English before proceeding farther; that is, if the undertaking was worth the waste of time involved in the performance of it. But they had themselves been seen by one of the pinnaces left by Howard to cruise in the Sleeve. And on July 19 the craft, of which one Fleming was captain, came dashing into Plymouth with the intelligence that the foe was at hand. On the same day the look-outs on the heights had seen the Armada sailing slowly past the Lizard, and the

following night 'the blaze and smoke of ten thousand beacon-fires from the Land's End to Margate, and from the Isle of Wight to Cumberland, gave warning to every Englishman that the enemy was at last upon them.'

Such a fleet had never been seen before—'exceeding far,' says Stow, in his versified prose, 'the force of those two thousand warlike sail of great Semiramis, or like the number at command of the Egyptian Cleopatra.' The Armada bore but little sail and swept along with pompous and deliberate motion. Even Camden gives way to a little poetry here, for he says the Spanish fleet was discovered, 'with lofty turrets like castles, in front like a half moon, the wings thereof spreading out about the length of seven miles, sailing very slowly though with full sails, the winds as it were being tired of carrying them, and the ocean groaning under the weight of them.'

Motley says: 'The size of the ships ranged from 1,200 tons to 300. The galleons, of which there were about sixty, were huge round-stemmed clumsy vessels, with bulwarks three or four feet thick, and built up at stem and stern like castles. The galleasses—of which there were four—were a third larger than the ordinary galley, and were rowed each by three hundred galley-slaves. They consisted of an enormous towering fortress at the stern, a castellated structure almost equally massive in front, with seats for the rowers amidships. At stem and stern and between each of the slaves' benches were heavy cannon. These galleasses were floating edifices very wonderful to contemplate. They were gorgeously decorated. There were splendid state apartments, cabins, chapels, and pulpits in each, and they were amply provided with awnings, cushions, streamers, standards, gilded saints, and bands of music.' The same authority adds: 'One hundred and forty ships, 11,000 Spanish veterans, as many more

recruits, partly Spanish, partly Portuguese, 2,000 grandees, as many galley-slaves, and 300 bare-footed friars and inquisitors' had now entered the stormy Channel to dethrone Elizabeth, who was still and persistently playing into their hands.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE old story is that Captain Fleming, coming in with the intelligence of the Armada's approach, found Lord Howard, Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, and others playing bowls on the Hoe; and that when a movement was made for the ships Drake would have the game played out, saying, 'There will be plenty of time to win the game, and beat the Spaniards too.'

Whether he won the game or not, the Spaniards were not far away waiting to be beaten. The wind was blowing from the south-west, of all winds the most unfavourable for the English. But there was no hesitation; for here were the best sailors in the world. The boats were ordered out and the great ships taken in tow. It demanded both skill and strength to warp down the Sound, around Mount Edgcumbe, and across Cawsand Bay. The whole fleet succeeded in gaining the Bay; but only a few, estimated variously between twenty-seven and fifty-four, succeeded in doubling Rame Head that Saturday evening. The first object to be gained was the weather-gage of the Armada; so they spent the early hours of the night tacking up the wind as near the Cornish coast as they dared approach. Some of the Spanish captains had seen the English ships, and were sailors enough to comprehend both their design and their present dangerous position, lying three or four

leagues to the leeward of the Armada. The Duke of Medina was acquainted with the state of Howard, and asked for instructions. But he was too ignorant of maritime matters to comprehend his advantage, and perhaps thought it incompatible with Castilian dignity to pay any attention to the 'Lutheran hens' that were flocking between him and the coast. He did nothing more than take in some of his canvas and gather his ships into more perfect order, as though to afford the English a spectacle which by its greatness and perfection of discipline must strike them with awe and fear.

During the night Lord Howard had worked westwards to the neighbourhood of Looe, and, seeing that the wind was now his, he shaped his course southward, and by sunrise had the great crescent on the lee. Perhaps twenty-seven sail were all that had succeeded in keeping company with the Admiral thus far; the other forty ships of the fleet were lying at anchor in Plymouth Sound until the Spanish fleet should be seen to the eastward, or the wind change so as to enable them to double Rame Head.

The Armada was still sailing to the east in leisurely and pompous state. The fortresses were bristling with cannon, and the bulwarks shot-proof. They were veritable floating batteries manned by soldiers, while at their heels came twenty-seven ships of all sizes, but manned by Neptune's brood. Many of them had crept out of the hospital to take their stations at the ropes and guns, and blue water and the smell of burnt powder were reviving cordials to them.

The Admiral had counted 136 of these towering ships before him; but he made ready for an attack. The object does not seem to have been the expectation of injuring the enemy so much as to teach his own fleet how the victory was to be won. So, about nine o'clock on that

Sunday morning, the Admiral and his three chief captains made ready to show their pupils the way to fight these wooden monsters. The 'Ark Raleigh,' under Howard; the 'Triumph,' the largest ship of the navy, under Frobisher; the 'Victory,' under Hawkins; and the 'Revenge,' under Drake, put out from the English fleet with sails set, every gun trained, and matches lighted. Running under the northern wing of the rear line of the Armada, they poured their broadsides into the first galleon; still continuing in the same course, they gave each Spanish ship, whether galleon, galley, or galleass, a broadside as they passed. Having got beyond the southern wing with their display of fireworks, they wore around and retraced their course, repeating the impartial delivery of shot into each vessel. But in their returning, more than one Spanish ship faced around and put out to intercept the English. To close with ships whose bulwarks were like the side of a bastion was never thought of for a moment. The English would have to provide themselves with scaling ladders. And so the attacking ships wore off, gave the advancing Spaniards a double broadside, and passed on. This running attack of four bulldogs on what could only be compared to a line of castellated elephants was the model of every subsequent engagement between the two fleets.

After this prelude the English ships all joined in the attack. The 'Ark' bore down on the ship of De Valdez, Admiral of the fleet of Castille, mistaking her for the flag-ship of the Duke of Medina. The Spaniards gathered to the protection of their Admiral; the English ships under Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Edmund Southwell, and others formed alongside of their commander, and the fight grew hot, though at long range. In the meantime Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins attacked the ship of De Recalde, who was Vice-Admiral of the Armada, and in command of the

rear-guard. In this case they fought at closer quarters, and the engagement grew so furious that the Spaniard fell back on the main body, somewhat crippled. The hornets had been stinging at their enemy for now two hours, and Howard called them off, preferring to wait for his remaining ships. There were signs of distress on board more than one galleon, while the English had received no hurt whatever. The Spanish bulwarks were four feet thick; the portholes were deep, and the fire was very nearly at point-blank, or flew high in air as the ships heeled over before the wind. Thus, while the foe wasted their shot in firing at the moon, they exposed more hull to the English artillerymen, and might be as easily hit below the water-line as the traditional 'barn-door.'

But the Spanish commanders were astonished more by the swiftness of the English ships than by anything else. Whenever they sought to pursue, the Englishmen seemed to them to fly away into the eye of the wind, where their clumsy and top-heavy craft could not go. They had not expected to be equal to their adversaries on the sea, man to man; but they had provided such odds in their own favour, and they now found themselves utterly outsailed, outmanœuvred, and baffled. They saw that their only chance was to come to grappling; but the offer or refusal of battle was at the will of the swifter sailer.

The Duke of Medina, when Lord Howard had drawn off, re-formed the order of his fleet, strengthening his rear-line, which now consisted of ten galleons, besides smaller ships, carrying 302 guns and over 3,000 men, under the command of De Recalde. In this order they sailed by the mouth of Plymouth Sound on that Sunday afternoon; the five ships of Her Majesty with their tallowed hulls running now and then within range and pouring a broadside

into the Spanish sterns, compelling De Recalde to wear ship and show his muzzles.

The forty ships lying in Cawsand Bay now sailed out and joined the fleet. Now also began that fitting out of barks and boats in response to the roar of battle heard along the shore. Craft of every size and description came out of the harbours, fishing villages, and inlets along the Southern coast, and hung on the rear of the Armada like vultures, with no strength to bring down the quarry, but terrible to the wounded.

CHAPTER LV.

Lord Howard had called a council of those advisers sworn to secrecy as soon as the ships had drawn away from the engagement. Instructions were issued concerning the order which the ships were to keep in following the Spanish fleet. Sir Francis Drake was appointed to bear the lantern of the fleet that night. Then each captain returned to his ship.

On board the Armada they were in the meantime feeling their hurts. As soon as Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins had ceased firing, De Valdez sent to the commander of the rear-guard to inquire if he had received any harm. To this De Recalde answered that he had been sore beat, that his foremast had been hurt by a great shot, and therefore let the other stand by him, for otherwise he would be utterly undone, if the English should offer battle again that day. De Valdez at once responded to this appeal, but he subsequently paid dearly for his generosity. As he drew near De Recalde's ship a large

Biscayan ran foul of him, carrying away his spritsail and yard. His own ship now was unmanageable; and, through her failure to obey her helm, a second ship fell foul of her, carrying away her bowsprit, halyards, and forecourse. De Valdez at once sent a messenger to the Duke of Medina, informing him of what had happened, and begging that the Armada might only lie-to until he put on another forecourse, when all would be well. This was done. De Valdez, with the view of putting on a spare sail, had struck his crossyard and taken down his halyards. While he was in this case, the wind rose and the ship began to roll. The consequence was that the foremast broke off close to the hatches and fell upon the mainmast. The Duke at the same time, alarmed at the movements of the English fleet and the growing sea, put away before the wind, leaving De Valdez to his fate. The latter sent another messenger after the Duke, and fired off signals of distress, but to no purpose. The only answer Medina Sidonia sent was the roar of a signal gun, which called the Armada away—'leaving me comfortless in the sight of the whole fleet,' says De Valdez.

The English were but a quarter of a league in the rear, and had been for some time observing signs of distress among the Spaniards. As soon as the ship of De Valdez fell behind, Frobisher and Hawkins instantly ranged alongside. But the Spaniard was a brave man, and knew how to fight his ship, if not how to sail her. The 'Triumph' and 'Victory' poured in their shot rapidly and well; and, just as they had succeeded in silencing the Spaniard's fire, Lord Howard came up, and, thinking the disabled ship 'void of mariners and sailors,' commanded Frobisher and Hawkins to follow him in pursuit of the enemy. A London ship called the 'Margaret and Joan' had been loitering in the neighbourhood and sending an

occasional shot against the crippled ship that rolled on the boisterous waves, helpless to save herself, but far too powerful for an armed merchantman like the 'Margaret and Joan' to venture within grappling range. Next came the 'Roebuck,' a ship of Sir Walter Raleigh, under Captain Whilton, and thought to make an easy capture. But the silent hulk again growled defiance and warned Captain Whilton that the Spaniards meant to sell their lives dearly. It was now nearly daylight.

About the time that De Valdez was run into by the Biscayan, on the afternoon of the previous day, Sir Francis Drake espied five ships putting off from the Armada and crowding all sail for the French coast. Perhaps he forgot that he had been appointed to carry the lantern that night, and thus be the guide and rallying-point of the English fleet; perhaps the hope of capturing those five fugitives was too much for his excitable nature; perhaps he thought he might accomplish his design and return before nightfall;—at any rate he went in hot pursuit, followed by the 'Bear,' under Lord Sheffield, and the 'Mary Rose,' under Edward Fenton. Night came down by the time the runaways were overhauled. But to the disappointment of the English captains they were found to be German merchantmen which had been sailing in the wake of the Spanish fleet, and had thought it time to part company from the belligerents.

Drake and his companions made all haste to return But it was already dark, the English fleet more or less scattered, and exposed to great danger for the want of the lantern. The darkness was intense, and Drake brought his ship to the wind and lay a-hull, awaiting the return of day. Lord Howard knew nothing of the chase after the five Germans; and seeing a light before him, and supposing it to be his own on the 'Revenge,' he, together with

Frobisher and Hawkins, followed in its near neighbourhood all night. The English fortunately were keeping a sharp look-out, and, as the first dawning came, towering hulls were seen looming first on one quarter and then on the other. They had been following the Spanish lantern, and were in the very midst of the Armada. There was no noise or hesitation. The ships instantly wore round and dashed up the wind in search of the remainder of the fleet. The Spaniards never perceived their advantage.

By those first beams of morning Drake saw that he had drifted within two cables' length of the ship of De Valdez. Comprehending his good fortune, he instantly summoned the Spaniard to surrender. The name of Drake was enough. Indeed, almost all through the contests of the Armada the Spaniards thought that every boldly fighting ship was commanded by Drake. It was the one English name that carried terror in it. De Valdez surrendered. Drake took possession of the ship, and found in her treasure amounting to 55,000 ducats. Don Pedro was taken on board the 'Revenge,' for his person represented a large ransom. The crew and soldiers, numbering 450, were sent with their ship to Torbay, under the command of Captain Whilton. Drake and his men 'merrily' divided the treasure among themselves; which gave rise subsequently to a bitter quarrel between the three great captains of England.

When the great galleon was searched on her arrival at Torbay some tons of gunpowder were found. This was transferred to the 'Roebuck,' and Captain Whilton sped away after the fleet. It was of greater importance to England than the ducats. The Spaniards were supplying the fabled eagle's feather to wing the dart for their own destruction.

But the Armada had lost more than the ship of Don Pedro de Valdez during the night.

On board the flag-ship of Don Mighel de Oquendo, Commodore of the squadron of Guipuscoa, was a Flemish gunner. This man had been dishonoured in the persons of his wife and daughter by the Spanish officers, and at the close of the contest with the English was beaten by the Captain of Marines for careless or intentionally bad ball-practice. This was the last bitter drop that filled up the cup of his sorrows. In his despair he resolved upon a terrible vengeance: perhaps, in addition, he felt that some act of atonement was due from him for having served the enemies of his native land. He had no sooner been beaten as a slave than he ran down into the magazine and thrust a lighted match into a barrel of powder. The two upper decks, the castle on the stern, some treasure, and 200 men rose into the air with the force of the explosion and were scattered far and wide. Certain galleons and galleasses came to the rescue and removed all that was valuable. Then the hulk, in a sinking condition, as they supposed, was turned adrift. She was found by some English ships on the following morning. The Lord Thomas Howard went on board to inspect her, and saw there about fifty Spaniards dreadfully scorched by the explosion, whom their countrymen had purposed sinking with the damaged ship. Lord Thomas, 'pitying their extreme misery, but not being able to stay aboard through extremity of stench, caused the remainder of those scorched men to be set ashore' at Weymouth, under Captain Fleming. Lord Thomas had a kind heart though a weak stomach.

Thus during the first twenty-four hours of their encounter with the English the Spaniards had lost two flag-galleons, one admiral, over 750 men, and nearly 100,000 ducats. Moreover they had one ship disabled, many badly

hurt. Their plans were confused, their captains and crews discouraged by the audacity and celerity of their enemies' ships. From every point on the coast they saw volunteers flocking to reinforce their opponents with provisions and ammunition in abundance, as they thought. They themselves had not a single point to score. Not even the least of their enemies' craft had been hurt or one Englishman killed.

CHAPTER LVI.

On Monday morning, July 22, the weather was clear and fine, with a heavy swell on the sea. Owing to the blunder in connection with the bearing of the lantern during Sunday night, the 'Ark,' 'Triumph,' 'Victory,' and a few more sail found themselves far to the eastward of the fleet, which had hove-to in the darkness, looking around for the light. The Admiral's turn to lie a-hull came now, that Drake, Lord Sheffield, and the others might overhaul him. Thus Monday was spent idly and its advantages paid as the price of the night's blunder; for the Admiral did not succeed in collecting his fleet together until evening.

At the same time, the Queen came reluctantly to the conclusion that all hope of peace between her and the King of Spain was at an end, and sent order that her commissioners should cease exchanging compliments with the Duke of Parma and return from Ostend. It certainly was time, considering what was going on in the Channel and in the ports of Belgium. One might have supposed it would not need the roar of battle sounding along her shores to convince the blindest and deafest of sovereigns that there was no peace for her.

During Monday's breathing-space the Duke of Medina rearranged the Armada. The rear-guard was to bear the brunt of the English attacks—that the Duke saw clearly; and he therefore took measures to strengthen it. The weather-gage had heretofore been against them; and the only ships that could hope to work their way against the wind were the galleasses, with their hundreds of rowers. So the four great galleasses, four great galleons, with other ships, amounting in all to forty-three sail, were detailed to serve under Don Antonio de Leyva and form the rear-guard of the Armada. They were to seek every opportunity to grapple with the enemy, and with their oars to overcome the vantage of wind held by the foe. Moreover, inasmuch as Oquendo and De Recalde had been forced more than once during the contest of Sunday, here and there, to drive back to the rear-line a ship that showed a decided preference for the stations in the centre of the Armada, the Duke of Medina not only sent instructions to each ship as to the position she was to hold in the new order of sailing, but he ensured the fulfilment of his instructions by sending on board each vessel a sergeant-major, and, with that officer, a provost or hangman, to ply his vocation on the captain in case of disobedience. At the same time the Duke sent off a sloop to inform the Prince of Parma of the experiences and present position of the fleet, also praying that pilots acquainted with the English and opposite coasts might be despatched to the Armada without delay.

By Tuesday morning the two fleets had arrived off Portland Bill, when the wind sprang up from north to north-east. Thus the weather-gage had been transferred to the Spaniards. Lord Howard made immediate efforts to regain it by bearing up towards Chesil Bank. Medina Sidonia had by this time learned that in naval warfare one

must needs know something of seamanship as well as fighting. He had now spent two days learning the art under the best masters, though at a distance. He perceived the advantage which the change of wind had given him, and determined not to lose it without an effort. The captains of the Armada were therefore ordered to strain every nerve to keep between the English fleet and the shore. After a severe struggle, the English were compelled to give up the attempt to regain the weather-gage and sheered off towards the west in the direction of Lyme Regis.

While Lord Howard had been working up to the wind, Frobisher, Lord Thomas Howard, and four of the London ships formed into a little independent squadron and hung behind. As soon as the Lord-Admiral had fallen off before the wind the van of the Armada sailed between them and their fleet; whereupon the four galleasses bore down upon them and opened fire preparatory to boarding. But the fire was so hotly returned that the four monsters paused. At the sound of the first broadside the Lord-Admiral wore round to come to the assistance of his captains. But the wind was veering to the east, and the 'Ark' found it impossible to come within range. Still the contest raged more and more furiously between the 'Triumph,' with her companions, and the four great galleasses. The Spanish ships, propelled by the galley-slaves, would bear down upon their adversaries as though to sink them with a blow of their lofty prows. The English would nimbly sheer aside and pour cannon-shot into the chained rowers between decks so rapidly as to astonish their opponents. Again the galleasses would be brought round and sent forward with the intent of coming to hand-blows. The English would again repeat their movement and send another broadside crashing through the

foe just above the water-line. This went on uninterruptedly for an hour and a half. Frobisher, the Lord Thomas, and Fenton had as much astonished the Spaniards as the first ironclad did the commanders of the wooden ships in Chesapeake Bay. On the Spanish side were valour, weight of men and metal; but the fire was slow, the range was horizontal, the ships were unwieldy, and so topheavy they could carry but little sail. They had plenty of food and ammunition, but they had nearly twice as many slaves as soldiers, and nearly twice as many soldiers as sailors. They were already conscious of being worried out of existence by a foe whom they would rejoice to get within reach of a grappling-hook; but the measuring of that distance was at the option of their enemy. On the other side there was not half the men, not half the tonnage, not half the guns; but there were skill, experience, rapidity of movement and fire. It had been a glorious duel during that hour and a half. For, since the wind had shifted to the south-east, the Armada lying to the north and the English fleet lying to the west could only look on as spectators and make what headway they might by tacking up towards the scene of battle.

By noon the wind, going round with the sun, blew from the south, and reinforcements of some Queen's ships joined Frobisher. The galleasses began to fall back. They were followed on the heels, and soon there was a furious assault given to the main body of the Armada.

It was now the afternoon, and the wind had gone around a few more points, restoring the weather-gage to the English fleet. All this time the Lord-Admiral had been trembling for the safety of the 'Triumph' and her companions. He had gathered around him every ship within call and cleared the decks ready for the change in the wind which had taken place. The right wing of the

Armada extended between him and the ships engaged. The 'Ark,' the ships of John Hawkins, Sir Robert Southwell, George Fenner, Sir George Beeston, and Richard Hawkins were formed in line of battle, and instructed by the Lord-Admiral to reserve their fire until they were within musket-shot, for their powder was limited. Then the signal was given, and the ships bore down on the Spaniards. The battle raged now from wing to wing of the Armada, which was slowly retreating on the centre. Equal courage was shown on both sides, though not equal skill.

While the roar was loudest, Captain George Fenner for a moment grew faint-hearted. He was in command of the galleon 'Leicester,' and by the side of the 'Ark.' Lord Howard detected some signs of wavering on board the galleon, and was heard above the sound of battle calling pathetically across to the other: 'Oh! George, what doest thou? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and opinion of thee? Wilt thou forsake me now?' It was but the momentary panic that sometimes overcomes the stoutest heart under new experiences. The voice of his friend and commander reanimated him, and Captain Fenner re-entered the battle, fighting valiantly to the end.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, seeing the English Admiral joining in the battle and the whole Spanish line giving way, called upon the reserve squadron, which consisted of sixteen of his best galleons, and sought to animate the hearts of their men with promises of great reward when the victory was gained. An English admiral would have trusted more to the power of the word 'duty' than the word 'reward' under the circumstances. But doubtless the Duke knew his men best. After the exhortation he sent the galleons to where the battle was hottest. The English gave way, but only for a moment. The Duke of

Medina was determined that the 'Triumph' should be captured. She was the largest ship in the fleet; she had done him more injury than any other, and she was still close in the rear of the galleasses, which he and his king had thought incapable of showing their heels to anything afloat. It was to frustrate the English Admiral's attempt to rescue Frobisher from his danger that the Duke had sent the reserve under fire. Their first onset had not been without effect, and the 'Triumph' seemed already captured; but the conflict was not yet over.

All that afternoon the roar of battle continued without intermission. And it was at close quarters, for the English were lying within half a musket-shot of their tall antagonists, and thus below the range of their cannon. In the tops there was a second line of battle formed; but the thundering of the great guns was so loud, says one, that the fire of the musketeers could not be heard on deck. As the day wore on the audacity of some of the English captains was so great that they urged the Lord-Admiral to give the signal to board; but he understood the work before him and the risks involved in such an attempt too well to be carried away by such advice.

The seaboard of the Queen's ships was low compared to that of the Spanish galleons, but still lower and beneath the range of the English guns smaller craft dashed in like wasps, fixed their sting, and ran out again. One of these barks, named the 'Delight' or 'Violet,' under William Cox, distinguished herself in this way. She was of fifty tons, and armed with a few small pieces which in that day would come under the head of sakers. But towards the close of the action this liliputian man-of-war unluckily blundered into the path of a heavy shot, and Captain Cox lost both his life and his 'Delight.' This was the first English vessel destroyed by the enemy.

The attack of the reserve squadron had not altered the fortunes of the day. The 'Triumph' was not yet taken, and the Armada was again drifting eastwards. The Captain-General made one more effort to throw the English into disorder, as the dusk of the evening made it hard to distinguish friends from foes. He detached five galleons from his left wing with instructions to make a wide detour, so as to get the weather-gage of the 'Triumph,' and dash in upon the rear of the vessels engaged with the galleasses. But the English were not to be surprised while the sea was dotted with skimming barks and pinnaces, generally in the way, and occasionally of some service. A few privateers saw the manœuvre, and displayed considerable skill as well as courage in attacking the galleons, which soon fell back again on the Armada. The Duke thereupon called his ships together, and, forming into a 'roundell,' lay-to for the night.

So ended the fiercest action which the English had ever fought on sea. It had lasted from morning until evening Martin Frobisher had been the first to enter it and the last to leave it. He was the hero of that memorable day, whereon all had fought like veteran fire-eaters.

CHAPTER LVII.

Among those who hurried on board and sped to join the fleet in answer to the ten thousand beacon-fires and the roar of battle which had been rolling eastward from the Lizard to St. Alban's Head, and even as far as the Needles, were the Earls of Cumberland, Northumberland, Oxford, and other nobles; also Raleigh, Hatton, Willoughby,

Blunt, two Cecils, Pallavicini, and many more such valiant men. But these reinforcements of heroes were of no avail. The battle of the previous day had expended all their powder. With the exception of a cask here and there the fleet was without ammunition. Raleigh said: 'Many of our great guns stood but as ciphers and scare-crows, not unlike to the Easterling hulks, who were wont to plant great red port-holes in their broad-sides, where they carried no ordnance at all.'

During Wednesday it was a dead calm. The two fleets lay motionless, except as they drifted with the tides, and about six miles apart. The Spaniards much needed this breathing-spell to mend their hurts, for more than one of their great ships had been careened to bring the shot-holes above the water. The English, too, were not loth to accept this rest; but powder was their want. So the Lord-Admiral despatched light barks and pinnaces to row and sail as they could for the nearest ports where convoys of ammunition were expected. While waiting for their return Lord Howard reorganised the fleet. All the captains had up to now been under the direct command of the Lord-Admiral, and the experiences of the day before had demonstrated how impracticable it was to communicate with about a hundred various sail during the heat and excitement of a great conflict, and especially when the commander poured broadsides with the boldest. The fleet was therefore divided into four squadrons, respectively composed of certain proportions of Queen's ships, London ships, privateers, barks, and pinnaces. Of the first squadron Lord Howard himself took the command; the second he committed to Sir Francis Drake, the third to Captain John Hawkins, and the fourth to Captain Martin Frobisher.

In expectation of a breeze springing up at the sun-

setting it was agreed that six merchants should be detached from each of the squadrons after nightfall. These twenty-four sail were to fall on the Spaniards about midnight at four different points and keep the Armada employed until morning. Perhaps they might succeed in bringing about a repetition of the falling foul of Biscayan ships, which had resulted in the capture of Don Pedro de Valdez, for the English commodores had observed that the Spaniards kept too close order and 'were penned up in a narrow room.' But the expected breeze did not come, so that the projected diversion was rendered abortive.

During the calm of Wednesday the Duke of Medina, supposing the inactivity of the English to be attributable to discouragement and damage received the day before, and considering that his rowers would supply the lack of wind, ordered the galleasses to attack. The English collected their scanty store of ammunition and took a few of their best ships in tow to meet the advancing floating fortresses. The names of the ships are not given, but one may be sure that Frobisher would be among the first to claim the privilege, which Lord Howard would no doubt grant, considering the high opinion he had already formed of the fighting qualities of the 'Triumph' and her commander. The action was short and sharp. The galleasses were compelled to retire. Don Hugo de Moncada was losing his confidence in the four great ships under his command. They had been expected to crush everything before them, yet in every contest they had been compelled to retreat baffled and beaten.

The two fleets were drifting towards the Isle of Wight. The night came on dark. But doles of ammunition were arriving. The commanders of the fortresses alongshore had heard of the wants of the fleet, and there was no apprehension of a landing being attempted west of the

Isle of Wight. So the Earl of Sussex, Sir George Carey, Lord Buckhurst, and others emptied their magazines and despatched the munitions to the Admiral.

During the darkness of the night two Spanish ships fell some distance astern of the Armada. The effects of the battering that they had been receiving were becoming evident. And the first thing Don Antonio de Leyva, commander of the rear-guard, saw at the dawn of Thursday was the 'Triumph,' accompanied by two or three other vessels, being towed up within range of the great hulk 'Santaña' and one of the galleons of Portugal, which were those that had been unable to keep up with the Spanish fleet. Frobisher at once opened fire. Don Antonio called upon his rowers to the rescue. Three of the galleasses and one galleon bore back to the scene of action. But Frobisher and his companions, unawed, awaited their approach. The shorter the range the more Frobisher liked it. Perhaps the best sailor in the whole fleet, he felt secure against grappling. And he was already sufficiently experienced in this war to know that under the muzzles of his antagonists lay the safest spot for him and the most damaging for them. Within the shortest range on which she had yet ventured the 'Triumph' lay pouring in broadsides so rapidly as to astonish all. Frobisher was in great danger, for it was still calm, and the ships on both sides could only be moved by rowers: the English sailors in the boats, the Spanish slaves chained to the benches. But perhaps the Commodore was the best judge of the danger. That he blended prudence with courage appears from the commendation bestowed upon him later in the day by the Lord-Admiral. Sir George Carey, having sent his ammunition to the fleet, came out next morning to see what they were doing with it, and very unexpectedly found himself and his pinnace in the

midst of round-shot which he estimated to be flying as thick as musket-balls in a skirmish on land.

While the unequal and desperate conflict was going on the Lord-Admiral ordered out all the boats to take the Queen's ships in tow. By the advance of the galleasses to the rescue of the lagging Spaniards the 'St. Martin,' the flag-ship of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, stood exposed in the middle of the Armada. This did not escape the keen eye of Lord Howard. Leaving Frobisher to continue his fight, and imitating his example of coming to close quarters, he directed the attack towards the 'St. Martin.' Close behind him came the ships of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Lord Sheffield, and Captain John Hawkins. But opposed to these illustrious Englishmen were the equally valiant Spaniards, De Recalde, Oquendo, Diego Florez, Mexia, Enriquez. And as the English ships were pouring broadsides into the 'St. Martin' and still advancing, the ship of Oquendo ran athwart the course of the 'Ark Raleigh.' The shock was tremendous. Some soldiers were killed on board the Spanish ship, and the 'Ark' unshipped her rudder. Lord Howard tried to wear his ship, so as to bring her broadside on; but the current baffled him. The 'St. Martin' had suffered considerably from the English fire. Her mainmast had been shot by the board. The ship of Oquendo had lost her bowsprit, another had her lantern shot down, which were all considered great triumphs of English gunnery. But all these advantages were as nothing to compensate for the loss of the 'Ark Raleigh,' which seemed imminent. Her companions were retiring before the attack of the Spanish galleons, which were preparing to grapple her. Howard got out the boats and launches to take him in tow. The Spaniards say he was in the meantime firing signals of distress, and had struck his standard. But the flag-ship

was not to be captured. With the Englishmen straining every nerve to drag away their disabled Admiral, and the hundreds of rowers on each galley tugging to overtake, there sprang up a timely breeze, filling the sails of the 'Ark;' the hawsers were cast off, and she was borne down and away with a speed that surprised the enemy.

Frobisher had been almost yardarm to yardarm with the galleasses all this time. The Howards and Hawkins had also been nearly yardarm to yardarm with their antagonists. Each battle was hotter and closer than its predecessor. The Captain-General, giving up his expectation of forcing the English to grapple, in which lay his only hope of success, fired a gun to call his ships out of the fight. The galleasses had proved themselves utter failures. Frobisher had battered them, sailed around them, dared them, and completely defeated them. The Duke never ventured them in another contest with the English.

But the day was not yet spent, and the British blood was thoroughly aroused. The great bulk of the fleet had been compelled by the calm to be idle spectators of the morning's work. Some of them were determined to burn powder before night, now that the breeze blew fitfully. And of those who had been engaged there were some who had not had satiety of fighting.

It was yet uncertain in what quarter the wind would settle, so Frobisher was no sooner relieved of the presence of the galleasses than he exercised his seamanship in tacking to the northward and windward of the Armada. Meanwhile the whole of the fleet, collected together, drew near to the Armada. Edward Fenton in the 'Mary Rose' and Thomas Fenner in the 'Nonpareil' deliberately took in their topsails almost within range of the Spaniards. This defiance was too much for the Southern blood. The Armada had the advantage of what wind there was and

bore down. The engagement was resumed and became general along the line. Frobisher was all this time 'pegging away' on the northern flank of the Spaniards. But as usual the wind veered round with the sun, and towards the close of the afternoon it was perceived that the 'Triumph' was to leeward of the Armada and making every effort to extricate herself. In advance of the wind many boats put out to Frobisher's assistance; and before long Lord Sheffield and Sir Robert Southwell were enabled to follow. They came none too soon, and none too many. Each ship had to put forth all her efforts to beat off the Spaniards and regain the wind. It is unnecessary to add that it was accomplished. It was now growing dark. The day's work was done. And 'the conflict was no whit shorter than the day.' Frobisher had again been the first to enter and the last to leave the battle.

CHAPTER LVIII.

It was off Freshwater and Blackgang this terrible conflict had been raging all day. Towards night, the Duke had sent off one more felucca to inform the Prince of Parma of what was taking place down the Channel. And let Parma —so ran the Duke's message—send shot for four, six, and ten pounders without delay. Let him also make all haste to come out to join the Armada. It was evident that the Spaniards were falling short of ammunition as well as their adversaries, and could not so easily replenish their stores. They were also growing afraid of the English. On Friday morning the weather was still almost a calm; and the Duke sent one more felucca to the Prince of Parma. The Spanish

Admiral's demands were increasing. Besides the ammunition, let the Prince send forty small vessels to be employed against the Armada's light tormentors. And once more, let him be in readiness to make instant junction with the fleet on its arrival in Calais Roads. The Duke was no longer confident of success. He was in a state of uncertainty and alarm. No one on board the fleet knew where Parma might be, for no answer had been received to any of the messages sent.

The English blood had cooled during the night, and they were no more prepared for battle than their antagonists. They had again emptied their magazines. Lord Howard saw that they could not afford to stand helpless before their foe at the close of every encounter. It was too full of danger. A command was therefore given, with a view of economising what little they had left, that no captain should again engage with the enemy without express directions. England had everything but ammunition for sinking the Armada. Noblemen, knights, and fishermen were still flocking to the English standard. But there was neither food nor powder for them.

The Duke was determined to fight no more at such a disadvantage. He had done everything to tempt them to come to hand-to-hand encounters. He had purposely left ships exposed as a temptation; but they would not be taken by his wiles. They were swift and he was slow—the battle was to the swift—and there was no remedy. The English had men and ammunition in abundance, said the Duke, while he had almost consumed his. That was the very sentiment of Lord Howard concerning his antagonists. So Friday passed without a conflict—the Armada spreading every sail to catch the light breeze and reach Calais Roads; the English fleet following close in its wake.

But that Friday was the day of glory for Frobisher.

The pinnace of the 'Ark Raleigh' came alongside the 'Triumph' with a request that the Commodore would come aboard of the flag-ship. There stood Lord Thomas Howard, the Admiral's cousin; and by his side Lord Sheffield, son-in-law to the Admiral: both valiant gentlemen who had especially distinguished themselves on the previous day. Next to them stood Roger Townsend;—who he was, except that himself and wife held offices in the Queen's household, it is hard to find out. Lord Howard in one of his letters refers to his having had a command in the fleet, but in none of the catalogues does his name appear. What great deeds he achieved, if any, are not recorded. Perhaps the Lord-Admiral had received a hint from the Queen to dub him on the first opportunity. With them stood Captain John Hawkins of world-wide renown as sailor, slaver, and warrior. He was the senior of them all, being now sixty-eight years of age. Captain Martin Frobisher joined them. The yards were manned, the soldiers were under arms, and all the fleet stood gazing on. The Lord-Admiral stepped up to Frobisher; and having commended him for his dauntless valour and unrivalled skill in seamanship, bade him kneel and gave him the last stroke on the cheek which he was ever to accept unavenged, and thus admitted him into the order of knighthood. Then his four companions were in like manner rewarded with the dignity which was yet only given for distinguished service to the country, and was sought after by nobles as well as commoners. In that day a duke would have to yield precedence to a knight on certain occasions.

Thus in mid-channel, almost within the range of the enemy's guns, while the weariness of battle was yet upon his limbs, the boy who had been turned adrift by his maternal uncle, who had waited, laboured, suffered poverty,

hardship, and yet who had followed the path of duty with a brave heart, became Sir Martin Frobisher. The dignity had never been better earned.

On Saturday the two fleets were still sailing Calais-wards within a short distance of one another. There was no firing. Both sides had come to fight; and both were saving their scant powder and shot. At ten in the morning the coast of France was sighted in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. At five in the afternoon, with the wind and tide bearing up the Channel, the Armada came suddenly to anchor off Calais. The Captain-General had an expectation that the English fleet, being under all sail and close upon him, would be surprised by his sudden action, and, unable to take in their sails, be driven to leeward of him. The Spaniards had already learnt many lessons in seamanship from their antagonists; but they had not yet surpassed their tutors. The English were somewhat surprised, and yet succeeded in taking in their sail and dropping anchor on the weather side of the Armada, though not until they were within culverin-shot of them.

While Medina Sidonia was exchanging courtesies with the Governor of Calais, he saw the squadron under Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter sailing down from the north-west and joining Lord Howard. The English fleet now numbered one hundred and forty sail of every class. Of the merchants and coasters Sir John Hawkins said, 'We had been little holpen by them, otherwise than they did make a show.' A complete list of the ships serving against the Armada shows that the number was one hundred and ninety-seven; and looking at their tonnage, there is no doubt much truth in an assertion that the stress of the battles was borne by fifteen or sixteen of them.

CHAPTER LIX.

DURING that Saturday night, Medina Sidonia despatched his secretary to the Duke of Parma to inform him of the position of the Armada, and that he had been told by the pilots and Governor of Calais it was not only very dangerous but impossible to remain long at his present anchorage. With the secretary went the Prince of Ascoli and many Spanish noblemen who were not pleased to receive knocks instead of plunder. They would have no more of the expedition.

The next morning Captain Don Roderigo Fello, who had been sent to Parma twelve days before, returned to the Armada. The Spanish messengers were not very swift. This was the first and last communication received by the much-perplexed Sidonia from the man who was to have assumed all further command. Don Roderigo said Parma was at Bruges, a town half-way between Sluys and Ostend. He had expressed much satisfaction at the arrival of the Armada. But the Don added that he had not seen any disposition on the part of Parma to come to Dunkirk; he had seen no movement towards embarking the troops. The stores and provisions were still on shore. A letter from his secretary at Dunkirk followed close on Don Roderigo, informing Sidonia that it would take Parma fifteen days to make his preparations to come out. A suspicion of something like treachery seized upon the Captain-General. He supposed that Parma's coquetting with Elizabeth had come to an arrangement between the two, and that the destruction of himself and his fleet was to be Parma's wedding present. It is hardly necessary to state that Parma had worked as few men have toiled to get

ready in time; but the Dutch cruisers and the Channel squadron under Seymour and Winter had thwarted him completely. The consequences to the Armada were all the same. Sidonia wished to throw the responsibility of the next step upon Parma, and was driven, though at his wits' end, to decide for himself. Circumstances should decide that for him. To this impotent conclusion he came, and in the meantime waited.

The English had no conception of the Duke's extremity. There had been no fighting for two days. Lord Howard had thought it prudent to save their ammunition until Lord Henry Seymour joined him, and then the great decisive battle must be fought. He knew that the Spaniards were not so ready to attack as at their first meeting off Looe, that many of the galleons had been injured, that their plans had been thwarted, and that they were riding in a dangerous roadstead. He supposed also that the Duke of Parma might come out and join the Armada at any moment; so that hours might decide the fate not only of his fleet but of the kingdom also. Lord Seymour had joined him. The Armada could not be attacked as at present situated. Thus the English admiral was likewise anxious and almost in extremity. But to wait was the one thing he could not do.

So the Admiral sent his pinnace to bring Sir William Winter on board the 'Ark' for counsel. This was at the departure of daylight on Saturday, and soon after the latter's arrival with his squadron. Sir William having come on board the flag-ship stood awhile beside the Lord-Admiral viewing the Armada, which lay in compact order about a mile and a half to the eastward. This was the first sight the veteran had got of the Spanish ships. He had heard almost hourly of the battles raging down the Channel, and now he saw the Armada. He was struck with the size

and height of the enemy's ships, and he despaired of gaining anything by attacking. After gazing his fill at that magnificent spectacle the two went down into the cabin. They must be removed, said the Lord-Admiral, or a junction with Parma might be effected any moment. Sir William held this to be impossible by any assault of the English fleet. Still he had a device. It had never been attempted in a sea-fight, but it was worth the trial, and that was to send fire-ships among them. This would certainly move them; it might put many of them in danger of being fired; and there would doubtless be a great loss of cables and anchors among the Spanish ships. With these arguments he found it an easy matter to convince Lord Howard. On the morrow a council should be called to consider the project; and if approved, it should be put in operation.

While they were discussing these things about nine o'clock at night there came a great crash against the 'Ark,' accompanied by the sounds of breaking yards and snapping cordage. Running up on deck they found that Sir Robert Southwell's ships had become entangled with three others, and were thus drifting before the rushing tide, threatening damage if not destruction to everything in their path. Just such an accident had cost the Armada dearly off Plymouth. But the advantage of having practical sailors to man the fleet was shown here again. Expertly and without alarm, the locked yards were disentangled and the damaged rigging repaired. Sir William, who knew from long experience what such an accident might mean, exclaims with pious gratitude, 'But a great favor of God shewed that it had not made a destruction of many our ships.'

Next morning, which was Sunday, July 28, the flag for council was run up on the 'Ark.' The plan proposed by

Winter was approved of by everyone. But the materials for carrying it out were not to hand. Sir Henry Palmer was despatched to Dover to bring hulks, tar, resin, pitch, and other combustibles. All that Sunday forenoon the English commanders kept their eyes towards the east coast, expecting to see Parma break forth through every obstacle. Between them and him lay the Spanish fleet; and while they would be struggling with the enemy's ships, venturing their fleet, lives, everything, Parma might cross and their country be invaded by the scoundrels who had outdone the Furies in the Netherlands—who had no respect for age or sex—the very children of rapine and carnage.

The members of the council were still on the deck of the 'Ark.' After the departure of Sir Henry Palmer they became restless, and began anxiously to calculate the number of hours that must elapse before his return. And what might not happen in the meantime! It became clear to every mind that Sir Henry could not return in time to execute their device that night, and before another night it might be too late. The council therefore determined to perform that night what might be done with the materials at hand. The bark 'Talbot' and five other small vessels were allotted to the fire. Their captains gave them up without very much reluctance, though a sailor is fond of his craft. The captain of the 'Talbot' said, in writing to Walsingham: 'Now I rest like one that had his house burnt, and one of these days I must come to your honor for a commission to go a-begging.' At midnight these should be despatched with the turn of the tide and let drift upon the Spanish fleet anchored in too close order for escape from any sudden emergency. The English sailors were not long in smearing the rigging and decks with tar, pitch, sulphur, and whatever fierce combustible they had in the fleet. Many

sakers, or five-pounders, were placed on board and heavily loaded, that when the burning ships had reached the heart of the enemy's fleet the charges might be ignited by the heat, and, if not injure, at least increase the terror of the Spaniards. After dark a strong convoy was sent with the fire-ships towards the shore, that they might be set drifting on the line of the current making towards the Armada.

All that day Sidonia with his captains had been looking up towards Dunkirk, as well as the English. But he had no ground, except his own hope, for expecting to see the Duke of Parma's host of barges, barks, and hoys coming forth. The last word heard from his secretary at Dunkirk was, 'the Duke has not yet arrived here.'

The Spanish watch-boats detected the movement of the squadron of twenty-six ships towards the French coast; and Sidonia, on being informed, suspected the design. It may seem strange that the Spanish commander guessed that the enemy was about to employ a stratagem never before heard of in a naval engagement; and yet it was not strange. About four years before, while Parma was besieging Antwerp, and fencing it in with lines of fortresses on the land side, and with a bridge which was the wonder of the age on the seaward side, an Italian, by the name of Gianibelli, came to the city and constructed two fire-ships, which were to be let drift with the current and blow up against the bridge. In the holds of the two vessels were caves of flagstones and powder. One of these floating mines or artificial volcanoes went off prematurely; the other drifted with fatal precision against the bridge, and, with an exactness of time which could not have been excelled if it had been ignited by an electric wire, exploded, throwing up a shower of flagstones, breaking a gap in the bridge, slaying a thousand of Parma's

best soldiers, and striking insensible the Duke himself. Gianibelli's ship was the ancestor of torpedoes. The story of the fire-ships of Antwerp spread throughout the world. Moreover, this very Gianibelli, it was well known to the Spaniards, was in the service of the English—perhaps on board the fleet; so it was not very strange that the Duke of Medina suspected what this movement of the English ships portended. And, to guard against such a device, he sent out a pinnace to tow on shore any vessel that might be found advancing towards the Armada. The Captain-General also commanded all the ships lying in the direction of the English to man all their boats and watch with the greatest vigilance. So matters stood towards midnight on Sunday, the 28th.

CHAPTER LX.

About twelve o'clock the squadron of fire-ships, being all ready, was placed under Captains Young and Prewse. The tide had been nicely calculated, and, with the wind also, swept them pointblank on the Armada, lying in the same compact order about a mile and a half to the leeward. Arriving within cannon range, their helms lashed, their sheets belayed, the trains were fired, and the crews took to their boats towing astern.

The night was very dark and gloomy. But at first two, then six fire-ships blazed up, lighting the darkness, and bearing swiftly past the boats sent to intercept them. Their burning decks and rigging sent darting tongues of flame in advance as they were carried by the gusts of the gathering thunder-storm. From the Armada were heard

loud cries: 'Cut your cables!' But the panic was not complete until from the burning ships, rushing unguided among the Spaniards, the loaded sakers went off in broadsides. Then came another cry from the Armada: 'The fire of Antwerp! The fire of Antwerp!' An overwhelming explosion was every moment expected. Over a hundred anchors with their cables were let slip into the roadstead. The swift tide and fitful blasts bore the ships athwart one another. There were indescribable confusion and panic. Everyone seemed to lose his wits except the Captain-General. He had given instructions how they were to behave in such an emergency: they were to open a way for the incendiaries to pass and then to return to their anchorage. This he and half-a-dozen others succeeded in doing; but all the rest were flying to the leeward—some entangled, others shouting out of very fear, and setting sail to get anywhere from the neighbourhood of the expected explosions. The cries of the Spanish mariners were heard on shore by the French, Flemings, and Walloons who had been flocking all day Sunday to Calais to see a great battle.

Sir William Winter says two of the enemy's ships were set on fire. For 'there were two great fires more than ours and far greater and huger than any of our vessels that were fired could make.' All others say there were eight fire-ships despatched, and so the number of burning ships seen by all was the same.

In the panic the 'head galleass,' the show-ship of the Armada, in trying to make a headlong flight drifted across the hawse of the cable of a galleon on her lee. The galleass swung there helplessly all night. Towards morning her rudder was unshipped, and herself glided off her strange moorings.

The sight presented to the English at the dawn of

Monday was the bruised and startled Armada lying six miles to the eastward, and the 'head galleass' near at hand, under her foresail, and with all the four hundred and fifty oars pulling vigorously for Calais Harbour. The 'Ark' went eagerly in pursuit; with a man in the chains heaving the lead. It was soon announced that the 'Ark' must bring her head to the wind, for the water was growing shallow. Almost at the same time the great galleass struck on Calais Bar, at the entrance of the harbour, for it was now half-tide. Richard Tomson, the Lieutenant of the 'Margaret and Joan,' has much to say of his own achievements on this and another occasion. There are many little details in his narrative which would bring him under the lash of a cross-examiner. He presents his own actions in such a valorous light, his own acquirements as so far surpassing those of all his comrades, that one is justified in attaching to his story that suspicion which falls upon all who trumpet their own fame.

Lieutenant Richard Tomson says that their ship, the 'Margaret and Joan,' took up the pursuit with the 'Ark'; but that they ran aground, were shot through and through by the cannon of Calais Castle, and floated off with the next flood.

But while his ship lay aground he manned his boat and rowed over to join the pinnace which the Lord-Admiral was on the point of sending in pursuit of the grounded galleass.

The two boats soon pulled alongside; and a strange contest was witnessed by the spectators who had gathered to see a battle. They were not to be disappointed of the spectacle after all. The galleass was the 'St. Lawrence,' 1,550 tons, carrying 50 guns, 118 mariners, 350 soldiers, and the hundreds of slaves on the benches. Coming to the attack were two launches. In that of the 'Ark

Raleigh' were between fifty and sixty men, many of them 'gentlemen as valiant in courage as gentle in birth.' In the other there were not so many. These two open boats coming under the lofty sides of the galleass returned with small-shot the ordnance fire that tore the air above their heads. After half an hour of this ineffectual fire Don Hugo de Moncada, Admiral of the galleasses, put his head out at a porthole to catch sight of his pigmy antagonists. A musket-ball entered his eye and laid him dead on the spot. There was an instantaneous panic on the fall of the commander. The Spanish sailors and soldiers sprang over the bulwarks and out at the portholes on the landward side, swimming, wading towards the shore. Some escaped, but the greater number was drowned. The few men remaining by their ship seeing a long line of small boats, each containing eight or ten men, hastening towards the prey from the smaller craft that, owing to their light draft, had drawn nearest to the galleass, put up handkerchiefs on rapiers. The English sailors at once began to clamber up the towering wooden walls; but they found it no easy task, though unopposed. Sir William Winter says: 'One, William Cox, master of a bark of mine called the "Delight," did first board her who sithence that time is slain.' The fact that William Cox had already been slain in the engagement off Portland Bill does not alter the event. All agree that a brave Englishman did yield up his life for his country in that battle; and all likewise agree that another Englishman did valiantly board the 'St. Lawrence' on Calais Bar. There was much plunder to be appropriated on board this 'very glory and stay of the Spanish army.' She needed to be considerably lightened to ensure her floating off with the next tide, and there was no better way of doing this, thought the British mariners, than by transferring her

valuables to their own boats. As vigorously as they had fought for half an hour, as vigorously did they now plunder for three times that space.

M. Gourdan, Governor of Calais, had coveted the ship. Many of his officers, among them his nephew, had paid her a visit the day before. The Governor's nephew, seeing the English in possession, rowed off to see if he could not also pluck some feathers out of the prize for his own nest. Lieutenant Tomson says himself was the only man on board who understood French. 'I asked them from whom they came,' says he, pausing from plundering. 'From M. Gourdan,' was the answer. 'I asked them what was their pleasure.' The answer from the messenger was indicative of a considerable change of sympathies from the previous day, when the Governor was courting Sidonia. 'They had witnessed our fight and rejoiced of our victory; that for our prowess and manhood shewed therein we had well deserved the spoil and pillage of the galleass; but that the Governor required and commanded us not to offer to carry away either the ship or ordnance.' Tomson's reply had a touch of irony in it that doubtless passed unperceived. 'For our part, we thanked M. Gourdan for granting the pillage to the mariners and soldiers that had fought for the same, acknowledging that without his leave and goodwill we could not carry away anything of that we had gotten considering that lay on ground hard under his bulwark.' The rest of the Lieutenant's answer was worthy of a diplomatist. 'As concerning the ship and ordnance, we prayed it would please him to send a pinnace aboard my Lord-Admiral who was here in person, hard by, from whom he should have an honorable and friendly answer.'

The French boat at this retired. But the gentlemen who had accompanied the Governor's nephew had climb[illegible]

on board and wandered about the ship, led by curiosity, if, for no more profitable purpose. The English mariners were no more accustomed in that day than in later times to look upon a Frenchman as other than their natural enemy. So these prying gentlemen were relieved of their rings and jewels. They departed from the galleass smiling; but they no sooner came ashore than they made complaints to the Governor, who without any warning whatever opened fire from every gun in the fortifications of Calais. After the galleass had been pierced more than once the Englishmen reluctantly retired, leaving a ship which they estimated to be worth eighty thousand crowns, forty brass pieces, and two hundred barrels of powder, which to the English fleet were worth more than if the barrels had been filled with grains of gold.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE 'Ark,' having nearly run aground, was all this time lying by. When the Englishmen were seen in possession of the lofty deck the Lord-Admiral made all sail to overtake the fleet. It was still early morning of the 29th.

While the 'St. Lawrence' was engaging the attention of Lord Howard the other Admirals perceived that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, having returned to his anchorage after the panic created by the fire-ships, was with the earliest dawn making vigorous efforts to rejoin his scattered fleet, then two leagues to leeward. The squadrons of Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins took up the pursuit. They gained so rapidly upon the Duke that he turned to face his enemy; at the same time sending light craft to summon the

Armada to form on either side in the usual order of a half-moon, with the flag-ship in the centre. These few orders were barely issued before the 'Triumph,' 'Revenge,' and 'Victory' began the attack on the Spanish flag-ship and the galleons that had remained by her during the night.

The great and long-expected battle had begun. The breeze was fresh and blowing from the SSW., with a tendency to veer round to the north. The Armada was showing considerable alacrity in gaining its usual order, while the Captain-General was fighting for very existence. It was not yet sunrise, and the three Commodores were, within musket-shot of the enemy, pouring in their broadsides with greater rapidity and surer aim than ever before.

By nine o'clock the Lord-Admiral joined the fleet which was off Gravelines,—the attack on the centre hot and furious still. The two wings or horns of the Armada had by this time been formed, and Sir William Winter was ordered to take his squadron and attack the starboard wing, which consisted of sixteen galleons. His orders to his gunners were that no piece was to be fired until they were within a hundred and twenty yards of the enemy. Efficacy and economy of shot were thus secured. Every round told on their tall antagonists, and the charge was successful. The Spaniards, scarce recovered from the consternation of the night, fell back on the centre, where the battle between Sidonia and the three Commodores was still going on. In this retreat four of them became entangled: one of these freed herself and gained the shelter of the main body; the other three were pursued and battered until their crews, finding them rapidly filling, sprang overboard, only to perish the sooner in the waves. These ships went 'afishing in the bottom of the sea,' said Lord Howard. A few of the men were rescued by the English. This squadron had done its duty well.

Sir William says: 'Upon the credit of a poor gentleman, out of my ship there was shot 500 shot of demi-cannon, culverin and demi-culverin, and when I was farthest off in discharging any of the pieces I was not out of the shot of their harquebus and most times within speach one of another.' Lord Seymour tells a similar tale of fierce fighting. He and two companions had charged three of their great ships, and shot one of them through six times within musket-range.

By noon the wind had freshened into a gale from the north-west. The centre of the Armada had been giving way for some time, and the numbers of their assailants continually increased. The Spaniards were performing prodigies of valour; but the English had, as usual, taken the advantage of wind and worked their will upon the heavily-rolling galleons, which were hurling their broadsides into the water or at the stars as it might happen. De Leyva, De Recalde, Oquendo, Diego Florez fought together, and were compelled to retire, with every ship disabled and their ammunition spent. Don Francisco de Toledo with dogged valour turned round on his tormentors and made a bold effort to board. But he was assailed by a perfect storm of shot. De Pimentel went to his support, and found the same fortune. Next came De Recalde, and after him Mexia, with wounded sides, to the rescue of the overwhelmed galleons. With the blood running out of their lee scuppers they dragged one another out of the battle, for the lower decks had been transformed into slaughter-houses for the poor galley slaves.

But the rear had to be covered against Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins, Sheffield, Thomas Howard, and some more of the same doughty nature. So De Toledo, Pimentel, and Enriquez turned once more, and suddenly threw their

grappling-hooks; but they fell short. The English responded with broadsides from every quarter. The Spanish ammunition was exhausted, and they sought to carry on the contest with the musketeers. Sidonia laboured to come to their assistance, though his flag-ship was riddled between wind and water, with all her rigging hanging about in hopeless wreck. The smoke of the battle covered the Armada; the crippled galleons were blinded, unmanageable, and leaking at a dozen places. The wind was blowing a gale from the north-west, and the Netherland coast lay on their lee. But the English ammunition was also expended, and they hauled-to. The battle had lasted from daylight until three in the afternoon. From three to six the charges and counter-charges between Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins, and the rear-guard of the Armada had been going on.

The ships of Toledo, Pimentel, and Enriquez were so damaged as to be entirely unserviceable. Enriquez determined to make the effort of following the Armada with his galleon; but the Captain-General sent barks to transfer the few men alive in the two others, which were the 'San Mateo' and 'San Felipe.' Don Pimentel, imitating the valour of Enriquez, refused to abandon his ship; and in the gathering darkness she was seen helplessly drifting towards the shore. She grounded to the east of Ostend, and after a gallant defence was captured by vessels sent from Flushing. The 'San Felipe,' which was Toledo's ship, was lashed to the 'Doncella Urca'; and the Don with his men passed over to the latter; but at that moment some voices were heard crying out 'The "Urca" is sinking!' De Toledo and Captain Santiso instantly sprang back to the 'San Felipe' and cut off the lashings. It was a false and unfortunate alarm. The 'San Felipe' when last seen by the Spaniards was drifting ashore. An effort was

made by the Nieuport boatmen to bring her into that friendly port; but the Holland ships succeeded in carrying her into Flushing.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia still endeavoured to regain the roadstead of Calais, and meditated a charge of the whole Armada upon the English, but he was dissuaded from this desperate and hopeless purpose by the pilots. They said that, with his poor sailing qualities and the wind in the north-west, the undertaking was impossible. In the meanwhile they were gradually and surely losing their leeway.

Lord Howard was a free inditer of epistles and reports. Ever since the communication from Plymouth he had been silent; for, as he said then, 'they were otherwise occupied than with writing.' At the close of this battle of Monday, Lord Howard wrote his second letter since the Armada had been seen. It is not a Cæsarian bulletin or a long catalogue of ships sunk and glorious deeds accomplished. It opens thus:—

'Sir,'—(that is, Walsingham)—'I have received your letter, wherein you desire a proportion of shot and powder to be set down by me and sent unto you.' All that the authorities in London could send to the man who was saving a throne and a nation's liberties, who had come to his last cartridge and cried out for ammunition, appealing to everything that was sacred to stir their hearts, was an official document demanding particulars of the kind and quantity of munitions needed. Lord Howard continues, saying that what was demanded, 'by reason of the uncertainty of the service, no man can do, therefore I pray you to send with all speed as much as you can. And because some of our ships are victualed but for a very short time, and my Lord [redacted] Seymour with his company not for one day, in like [redacted]u to dispatch away our victuals with all possible

speed, because we know not whither we shall be driven to pursue the Spanish fleet.' A short reference is then made to the fight, while in a postscript he adds: 'Their force is wonderful great and strong, and yet we pluck their feathers by little and little. I pray to God that the forces on the land be strong enough to match so puissant a force. There is not one Flushinger or Hollander at the seas.' Lord Howard was not aware that they had a sufficient task set them to keep the Duke of Parma from joining the Armada. It is said that there was powder in the Tower, and that the half-million reserve was untouched, and now when they would serve, if ever, the Queen held back her hand. She could not afford the powder to finish the work, half-done, of sinking the Armada.

CHAPTER LXII.

About two o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, while the Spaniards were doing all that men could do in mending broken yards and torn rigging, in nailing sheets of lead over shot-holes, the gale increased in violence. All the Spanish knowledge of seamanship was not enough to keep them from drifting towards Zeeland. When the day broke the wind partially fell, and the Spaniards saw that the English fleet was only half a league to windward. The Captain-General, with De Recalde, De Leyva, the three galleasses, and two galleons, guarded the rear. The other ships of the Armada were scattered down the wind. An immediate attack was expected, which, if made with the usual celerity and force of the English, would ur[illegible] edly have sunk every one of the sadly wounde[illegible]

the rear squadron. But the English lacked the ammunition, and were forced to content themselves with merely keeping close in the rear.

The Spanish Admiral sent barks to instruct the ships to leeward that they must keep to windward. Meanwhile the pilots told him that it was impossible to save a single ship of the whole Armada; and that, with the north-west wind then blowing, they must all inevitably perish on the sands of Zeeland.

The Spanish commanders, seeing the English following still in silence, concluded that they were of choice saving their fire, and were cruelly waiting to behold the destruction of the Spanish ships. There was no hope but in a change of wind. The man in the chains heaving the lead was at each throw announcing the depth less. The last throw showed only six fathoms and a half, and all hope was gone. But in this utmost extremity the wind suddenly sprang up from the south-west and carried the Armada, without the loss of a single ship, into deep water again.

The Captain-General summoned what admirals he had left in his company to deliberate on the next course to be taken. All agreed that the Armada ought to return to Calais Roads; and all likewise agreed that with the present wind it was not to be accomplished. Wherefore, considering that the Armada stood in need of so many necessary things, that half their anchors were in the sea off Calais, their rigging torn, masts splintered, yards cut in twain, hulls pierced, rudders shot, lost or unmanageable, their water-butts mostly destroyed by the enemy's ordnance, and that the ships in which they had put their trust were sunk, captured, or unserviceable, they determined to return by the North Sea to Spain, and leave Parma where he had evidently chosen to remain.

to pray y[illegible]English fleet had stood off in safe waters when

they saw the Armada moving, as it seemed, to certain destruction. But on its escape the pursuit was again resumed. 'Notwithstanding that our powder and shot was well near all spent,' says Lord Howard, 'we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase as though we had wanted nothing.'

During the afternoon the Lord-Admiral ordered the squadron under Lord Seymour and Sir William Winter to return to the mouth of the Thames first of all for food, as the crews were without a morsel, and then to guard the coast, which had been left naked, against any attempt of Parma's. Lord Henry showed considerable reluctance in going; but not so his men. They were worn out with fighting, labour, and hunger. Many crews of the other squadrons would have gone also had they not been restrained. To an English sailor perhaps no consideration is of more immediate concern than an empty stomach. The squadron was to shape its course for the English coast as soon as it was sufficiently dark for the movement to pass unperceived by the enemy.

All the English ships were now feeling the full bitterness of being deprived of food and powder. Lord Howard said if they had had what should have been provided 'England and Her Majesty had had the greatest honor that ever any nation had; but God be thanked it is well.'

It was well. The very presence of Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins, the Howards, and others was enough to fill the Spaniards with dread. More than once the brave commanders of the rear-guard of the Armada faced about to meet an expected attack, and more than once the pursuing captains meditated closing; but nothing happened, and the retreat went on all day.

On Wednesday, July 31, the south-west wind freshened

into a gale, and the Armada was scattered widely. The English pursuers seem to have contemplated the capture of the few ships under De Recalde in the rear. But the Captain-General signalled his fleet to lie-to. Something like a line of battle was formed, but it was only the 'brag countenance' on the part of the English. On the same day Sir John Hawkins wrote praying that the men's wages might be ready on their landing. The money should have been sent to Plymouth, and Lord Howard had been compelled to pledge his personal credit to keep his men from deserting. Sir John also begs that food may be sent; and he closes by saying, 'The Spaniards take their course for Scotland, my Lord doth follow them.' The general expectation on board the fleet was that the remainder of the battered Armada would land in the Firth of Forth, where they might look for a rising from the partisans of their murdered queen. 'Serve us with furniture,' adds Hawkins, 'and with your favor we shall confound their device.'

Frobisher was no scribe. Howard, Winter, Seymour, Drake, Hawkins, Fenner, Tomson, White were able to state their wants and record their achievements; but Frobisher made no attempt. He was 'otherwise occupied than with writing.' The work according to his heart was to get within musket-shot of a superior enemy and hang by her until she struck her colours.

Lord Howard, referring to a sneer of the Spanish Ambassador, writes that he desires his brother Stafford 'will let Mendoza know that Her Majesty's rotten ships dare meet with his master's sound ships, and in bustling with them; though they were three great ships to one of us, yet we have shortened them sixteen or seventeen, whereof there is three of them a-fishing in the bottom of the sea.'

Yet the Armada was still powerful. It is said that

Sidonia was only dissuaded by the ecclesiastics on board from hanging out a white flag. But it was never done. The horses and mules were thrown overboard to save the water. And if any hope was entertained of landing in Scotland the wind was blowing too much from the west to accomplish such a purpose. The English fleet followed them until they had passed the latitude of the Firth of Forth. The fleets were thirty leagues to the east of Scotland, and they looked their last at one another just before a terrific storm broke, which Lord Howard described as the 'most violent storm as ever was seen at this time of the year.'

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE English fleet had intended putting into the Firth for food and water, but this tempest baulked them of their purpose. For five days they continued beating back to gain the mouth of the Thames, and arrived in a dispersed state at Harwich and Margate Roads on the 7th and 8th.

Lord Howard sat down and had a letter ready to send ashore to Walsingham as he passed Harwich. 'Although we have put the Spanish past the Firth, and I think past the Isles, yet God knoweth whither they go, either to the Naze of Norway or into Denmark or to the Isles of Orkney to refresh themselves, and so to return, for I think they dare not return with this dishonor and shame to their king and overthrow of their Pope's credit.'

'Sir, surely some find a kingdom is a great wager. Sir, you know security is dangerous, and if God had not been our best friend, we should have found it so.' In this

way wrote the great sailor as he was returning from the greatest naval victory ever won. Without any ostentation of piety he ascribes the victory to God, and then bends all his energies to animate the Government to new efforts to complete the work which he thought only half-done.

Next day he wrote again: 'I do understand by a small bark of our company that lost us in the storm met with twenty great hulks, going as it seemed after the fleet; I doubt they be some victuallers that do follow them; if they can get water in any of the isles of Scotland, or in the North part of Scotland, it is very likely that they will return.'

Drake tells his view of the matter in a letter to Walsingham. 'The only thing which is to be looked for is, that if they should go to the King of Denmark, and there have his friendship and help for all their reliefs none can better help their wants in all these parts than he, for that he is a Prince of great shipping, and can best supply his wants, which now the Duke of Medina Sidonia standeth in need of as great anchors, cables, masts, ropes and victuals; and what the King of Spain's whole crowns will do, in cold countries, for mariners and men, I leave to your good Lordship, which can best judge thereof.'

Elizabeth held that the work was done, and that the ships should be paid off. But all her captains saw how near they had come by false economy to a fatal mistake at Plymouth, and did all they could to persuade the Queen, through her officers of state, to continue the fleet on a war footing for at least six weeks longer, until the fate of the Armada was known.

Sir Horatio Palavicini writes to the Secretary. He had joined the fleet at the same time as Raleigh, the two Cecils, and others. He had shared in the dangers and triumphs of the battles of Freshwater and Gravelines, and

he gives it as the 'judgment of mariners, and the report of the Lord Raleigh' that the Armada is in a port of Denmark; that it cannot complete its repairs in less than three or four weeks; that if Her Majesty should despatch twenty sail to unite with an equal number of Hollanders the Spanish fleet might be burnt in the harbour. 'I have besides thought,' he adds, 'of those who in my judgment would be suited for such an enterprise. These are the Lord Earl of Cumberland as General, and Captain Frobisher as his lieutenant; but in case it do not please Her Majesty to send the Lord Earl himself out of regard for his service at home, the aforesaid Captain Frobisher alone will be quite sufficient; and I hope that he will be followed by the best soldiers and by many gentlemen, among whom if I shall be regarded by Her Majesty as good for service in such an expedition, either with counsel or with arms, I offer to go most heartily.'

The opinion of an eyewitness of all the great achievements in the Channel is that Frobisher was best fitted of all the English heroes to take up the pursuit and destroy the enemy. And Palavicini seems to have been only reflecting the opinion of Raleigh and his friends, than whom none was more apt at distinguishing merit.

But the Armada was not harboured in Denmark. The winds, rocks, hunger, and thirst were doing the work even more effectually than Frobisher could have done it. God was still the best friend of English liberty and religion. The invasion of the Spanish Armada had come to naught. Silence and mystery hung over its fate for some time; but incident by incident came to light until all was known that ever will be.

When it was overtaken by that furious tempest it was swept towards the inhospitable islands of the Northern Sea. The ships were now among fogs, rocks, squalls, frosts.

Their newly-spliced ropes and bandaged yards snapped in the sudden and violent gusts. Sickness appeared in nearly every ship. The wounded could not recover under such circumstances. Water was failing them, and thirst seemed more terribly near than the rocks. They left one galleon cast away on the Faroes; another at the Orkneys; a third at the island of Mull. They were marking their path with the saddest of all monuments. The Northern islands were thus passed by separate groups of disabled ships. On their coming athwart the western coast of Ireland a western gale blew down violently and without intermission for eleven days. One after another of the Spanish ships was driven among the breakers and dashed upon the rocks.

It is a sad long story of the most terrible suffering and death. Suffice it here to state that there returned to Spain during the autumn one galleass, one galley, thirty-three galleons and hulks, besides eighteen smaller vessels. One hundred and thirty-four had set forth in July; fifty-three returned in October, so utterly worthless that they were never used again. Of the 30,000 men who had sailed, distributing among themselves by anticipation the lands, honours, and offices of England, it is agreed that about 10,000 returned. De Recalde, Oquendo, Diego Florez, and other eminent commanders were dead. Pimentel, De Toledo, and Don Pedro de Valdez were in captivity. So ended the Invincible Armada, which had been three years preparing.

The English losses were so trifling as to be almost incredible. One hundred and twenty men is the number given of the slain. And many of these lost their lives at the taking of the great galleass on Calais Bar. The bark of Cox was the only craft sunk. Not a boat or pinnace had been captured.

CHAPTER LXIV.

SUFFERINGS not far less than those of the Spaniards were in the meantime endured by their English conquerors lying in Margate Roads, but under circumstances a thousand-fold more shameful. From storms and rocks and thirst, the insensate powers of nature and the frightened dwellers on hostile coasts, did the former receive their damage and death; while the latter dropped down and died in the streets after winning the victory, after escaping the storms, and regaining a roadstead within a day's ride of the capital of their native land.

On the day of his coming to anchor Lord Howard, in a letter quoted from before, says to Walsingham: 'I pray to God we may hear of victuals, for we are generally in great want.' The postscript to it runs: 'Sir, if I hear nothing of my victuals and munition this night here, I will gallop to Dover to see what may done there, or else we shall starve.' Some provision ships had, indeed, been sent to Harwich, and were of service to the ships lying there. But Lord Howard heard nothing of them that night; and the great mariner, bestriding his steed, took the gallop towards Dover. Mr. Quarles, General Surveyor of the Victuals of the Navy, was found at Sandwich, and informed him of the hoys on the way from Harwich. Thence the Lord-Admiral rode to Canterbury to see the Commissioners and learn of the Duke of Parma's movements. The intelligence he received on that head was reassuring. But before his ride back to Margate Roads he sent Walsingham another letter. 'There is a number of the poor men of the coast towns, I mean the mariners, that cry out for money, and they know not where

to be paid; I have given them my word and honor that either the towns should pay them, or I will see them paid. If I had not done so they had run away from Plymouth by thousands.'

But the worst had not yet been reached. The consequences of the Queen's economy in changing the men's diet from English mutton and beef to Spanish fish and oil, besides the more immediate effects of the sour beer, were seen everywhere. Two days later Lord Howard writes again: 'Sickness and mortality begin wonderfully to grow amongst us, and it is a most pitiful sight to see here at Margate how the men (having no place to receive them into here) die in the streets. I am driven myself of force to come a-land to see them bestowed in some lodgings, and the best I can get is barns and such outhouses, and the relief is small that I can provide for them here. It would grieve any man's heart to see them that have served so valiantly to die so miserably.'

The 'Elizabeth Jonas,' Sir Robert Southwell's ship, had lost 200 out of her crew of 500 before leaving Plymouth; and though an attempt had been made to disinfect her with fires of wet broom, the new crew had also been struck down. The ship of Sir Roger Townsend (her name is nowhere given) had but one man left in her. Within two weeks Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, and five or six others, seeking, on a change of the wind, to move to a safer place, were unable to do so owing to the fact that their sick crews were unequal to the task of weighing anchor. And the fresh men that were drawn into the ships were likewise infected 'one day and died the next.'

Perhaps the scene that was meanwhile taking place at Harwich had still more painful features; but they were of an entirely different character. Sir John Hawkins, Sir Martin Frobisher, Lord Sheffield, and many more had

come to anchor there after their return out of the great storm. While the enemy was before them, they 'stayed not to take the spoil of any of those ships' they had disabled, with two exceptions. But now the great men had leisure to come down from their heroism and squabble over the plunder. The fifty-five thousand ducats found in the galleon of De Valdez became the apple of discord. It had been thought that Drake had compensated for his absence and the want of a lantern during that first night off Plymouth by taking the disabled ship with her treasure and her Admiral, precious in prospective ransom. But it would have been better had it sunk in the sea.

Sir John Hawkins was fond of money. Sir Martin Frobisher was always in need of it. The Lord Sheffield and the Lord-Admiral had reduced themselves to pecuniary straits by their expenditures for their men. So the prize-money of the captured galleon seemed a lucky windfall to each. But it was said that 'Sir Francis his soldiers had well paid themselves with the spoil of the ship—which they shared merrily among them.' Yet the other commanders believed that not even a considerable part of it had gone among the common mariners. As soon, therefore, as these captains got together at Harwich the subject of the treasure came up, and an interchange of opinions took place as to their right to share with Sir Francis in the distribution of it. They were all at the time on board the 'Bear,' Lord Sheffield's ship. There had been more or less heated words against the absent Drake, when there entered on the scene a man that must have been sent by the very imp of mischief. This was one Matthew Starke, one of Drake's men, who came bearing a despatch from the Lord-Admiral to Lord Sheffield. Frobisher had only needed the veriest trifle to pour out all his indignation, suffering as he was under a sense of injustice.

There is no doubt that Frobisher was large and muscular. Few men in the fleet could perform the feats of strength which he had accomplished. He was always ready and fearless for an encounter. When his temper had reached the sticking-place, he had drawn his hanger on more than one antagonist and forced them to flee for life. And when angry, perhaps, each of the great trio of English Admirals would involuntarily break out in the vocabulary of youth, learned in the forecastle and off the Coast of Guinea.

As soon as he knew that Matthew Starke was one of Drake's men, the uncurbed English Ajax burst forth in language untempered by culture.

'Sir Francis Drake reporteth that no man hath done any good service but he, but he shall well understand that others have done as good service as he and better too.' Perhaps Frobisher was right thus far. From the taking of the ship of De Valdez to the battle of Gravelines not one of the English authorities has a single achievement of Drake's to record. From reading his letters, on the other hand, one would glean an implication that things had been quite otherwise. Frobisher enters on details:—

'He came bragging up at the first indeed, and gave them his prow and his broadside, and then kept his luff, and was glad that he was gone again like a cowardly knave or traitor—I rest doubtful which, but the one I will swear.' When a man's temper has brought him to the point of rejoicing in biting antithesis, it is difficult to know how much he would have us take as fact and how much he would have ascribed to his own wit. It is a mood that naturally leads to sarcasm. 'He did good service indeed,' continues Frobisher, 'for he took Don Pedro; for after he had seen her in the evening that she had spent her masts, then, like a coward, he kept by her all night because he

would have the spoil. He thinketh to cozen us of our shares of 15,000 ducats, but we will have our shares, or I will make him spend the best blood in his belly, for he hath done enough of these cozening cheats already.'

Drake had laid himself open to suspicion by the coincidence of the absence of the lantern and the capture of the treasure. But the charge of cozening had, perhaps, originated in some other brain than Frobisher's. Having given utterance to what was doubtless Sir John Hawkins's grievance, he comes back to his own.

'He hath used certain speeches of me,' continued Sir Martin, 'which I will make him eat again, or I will make him spend the best blood in his belly. Furthermore, he reporteth that no man hath done so good service as he, but he lieth in his teeth, for there are others that have done as good, and better too.'

At this point the knight undertook the cross-examination of Starke.

'Had they, in the "Revenge," not seen Don Pedro overnight?'

Starke answered in the negative.

'You lie,' retorted Frobisher, 'for she was seen to all the fleet.'

Starke was prepared to lay his head that no man in the fleet had seen her until morning, when they found themselves within two or three cables' length of her. No one accepted the wager, or Starke would have lost it, to his irreparable damage.

'Aye, marry, you were within two or three cables' lengths,' Frobisher went on, 'for you were no farther off all night but lay a-hull by her.'

The controversy continued some time longer,—the other captains discreetly allowing Frobisher to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. At last Lord Sheffield

interposed by asking Starke what he was. He had been in the action with Sir Francis, he said. Lord Sheffield repeated his question, 'What art thou—a soldier?' 'I am a mariner like your honor,' said Starke. The remark of Lord Sheffield on this answer appears both abrupt and inconsequential: 'I have no more to say unto you. You may depart.'

The mariner no sooner returned to the 'Revenge' than he repeated all he had heard on board Lord Sheffield's ship at Harwich. And, doubtless by advice, he put it all in the form of a declaration, attested by the masters of the 'Ark' and 'Revenge,' besides three of the captains of Drake's squadron.

Lord Henry Seymour was already angry with the Lord-Admiral for having been sent back from the pursuit of the Armada; but between Drake and the three captains at Harwich a far deeper and wider gulf was opened.

As soon as it was reported that Frobisher and Hawkins had put in their claim for a share of the prize-money other claimants appeared.

Richard Tomson, of the facile pen, and lieutenant of the 'Margaret and Joan,' together with the captain and master of that ship, had a declaration to present to Walsingham, touching the capture of the Spanish galleon; and if 'the forwardness of the willing be something considered before such as never gave any attempt to the taking of her,' then they also would come in for a share of the prize-money.

The foundations upon which their claim was built were the following. About five o'clock in the afternoon of that Sunday, July 20, the whole English fleet beheld the falling of the masts of Don Pedro's ship. Then the 'Margaret and Joan,' alone of all the navy, 'as all the

fleet can testify, bare roamer with the ship.' As they approached the galleon they perceived that a second galleon, a great galleass, and a pinnace remained by her. And here Richard Tomson appears to be too well informed. The instructions given to the vessels sent to the assistance of Don Pedro were, 'either to help her, repair her masts, and so follow the Spanish army going before, or else to bring away the men, treasure and munition thereof, and to fire or sink the ship.' All these statements no doubt helped to build up his case, but they were obviously born of his own imagination. But to return to Tomson's declarations. These precautions proved futile, for no sooner was the 'Margaret and Joan,' with her two hundred tons burthen and crew of ninety, seen approaching than the succouring ships unfurled their sails and 'forsook Don Pedro, leaving him to the mercy of the sea.' Considering that the galleon, galleass, and pinnace could have carried no less than about a thousand men, of whom nearly four hundred were Spanish veterans, this flight must have been sufficiently flattering to the commanders of the 'Margaret and Joan.'

Tomson is justified, under the circumstances described by him, in saying that but for their coming the galleon would have been carried off that night. All this happened at five in the afternoon. But, with a grand indifference for details, Tomson states that he came alongside the galleon an hour before he says he had seen her, that is, at four in the afternoon. They contemplated her lofty sides, and thought that perhaps they would not immediately board. She had no light burning; but what she wanted with a lantern at four o'clock on July 20 is not obvious. Moreover none of her crew appeared on deck—perhaps out of indifference—so the 'Margaret and Joan' poured a volley of musketry into her netting. This awoke the Spaniards,

who sent back two great shot. The 'Margaret and Joan' returned a broadside. They then, fortunately, thought better of their boarding project, and contented themselves with lying by her until midnight. At that time, seeing the Lord-Admiral about a league distant, and fearing his displeasure should they remain any longer by the damaged ship, they made all the sail they could to join him.

Such was Tomson's story; but it tallied ill with Starke's narrative. Starke said none saw Don Pedro's ship until the morning; Tomson said all the fleet saw her at five of the evening before. Starke said it was so dark that though they lay within two or three cables' length of the galleon they saw nothing of her until the dawn; Tomson said it was sufficiently clear to see the Lord-Admiral's ship lying a-hull a league away.

These discussions and counter-claims came to the ears of the Queen, who was always on the alert when the jingling of ducats was heard in the air. She at once demanded a strict account of the prize, which put Lord Howard on his defence. The high-spirited Admiral felt that his honesty was called in question, and with justifiable indignation he wrote to Walsingham on August 27: 'Sir,—I send you here inclosed a note of the money that Sir Francis Drake had aboard Don Pedro. I did take now at my coming down 3000 pistolets (perhaps 2,400*l.*) as I told you I would.' And, with a solemn asseveration, he adds: 'I had not three pounds left in the world, and had nor anything could get money in London. And I do assure you my plate has gone before, but I will repay it within ten days after my coming home. I pray you let Her Majesty know so; and by the Lord God of Heaven, I had not one crown more, and had it not been mere necessity I would not have touched one; but if I had not some to

have bestowed upon some poor and miserable men I should have wished myself out of the world.'

It is impossible to follow the intricate windings of this controversy. It is more than probable that Drake and Frobisher never met again; so that the latter had no opportunity for carrying out his threats against his physically small antagonist.

That Frobisher did get his share of the spoil of Don Pedro's ship is very likely. He became the Queen's favourite Admiral; and if the plunder was not absorbed in her treasury, she would not forget the person that had won her favour. Moreover Frobisher received, just six months afterwards, a great warrant through Sir John Hawkins, Treasurer of the Navy, for 4,979*l.* on account 'of the war of the 21 of July.'

CHAPTER LXV.

It has been told how Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter were ordered back by the Lord-Admiral to Dover when the Armada began its flight northward after the battle of Gravelines. At that port they were to victual their fleet, and then proceed to cruise off the coast of the Netherlands. But, before they had completed the provisioning of their ships, the great storm from the north-west had swept down the German Ocean and lashed the waves of the Channel to such fury that their services were not needed to keep the hoys and barges of Parma from issuing forth from Dunkirk and Nieuport. And so Lord Henry's squadron continued riding in Dover roadstead.

Towards the end of August Lord Henry and Sir William

were joined by the ships of Howard, Drake, Hawkins, and other noted commanders. The Lord-Admiral was still continuing his epistolary attack on the authorities as Court, emphasizing the dangers to which the realm was still exposed; and urging that, inasmuch as the wind had shifted and the Channel was again smooth, the Duke must not be neglected; and that indeed something must be done at once, 'or else it would weary all men to keep still.' Howard estimated the smallest force which would suffice to guard the Channel at sixteen ships, and suggested that the command of that fleet should be entrusted to Sir Martin Frobisher and Sir Henry Palmer.

The Lord-Admiral's estimates of men and ships had to undergo a strict revision by the authorities at head-quarters, where it seems to have been taken for granted that every demand was necessarily exaggerated, and that vigilant guardianship of the public purse consisted in cutting down and paring away something from every estimate. The chief part of the Queen's state-craft consisted of economy; and her economy was made up of cheese-paring. Henry the Seventh's character had skipped a generation and descended to his grand-daughter.

Two months were spent in talk and examination of the items of cost. Then the uncertainty as to the Duke's movements became so great that something must be done. Frobisher was therefore despatched in the 'Tiger,' a vessel of two hundred tons, to glean information and keep a look-out off the Low Countries. He was no sooner afloat than he began to gather something besides news.

The Dutch merchants, though patriotic in voting money to fight Parma, and unflinching in their contests on the canals and deltas, were not averse to recouping themselves by becoming the carriers of the enemy. In this way, it may have appeared to them, the Spaniard was

made to contribute to his own destruction. But this question was viewed from another side by Frobisher. Any ship bound for the ports of the enemy was deemed by him a lawful prize. Besides, there was the English fleet at Dover lacking bread. Thus the wheat ships of the Easterlings fell victims to the 'Tiger,' and were sent to Dover; the corn was carried ashore, and what was left of it after the hungry mariners were fed was stored until the Courts could decide some questions of law between the captor and the owners. And the latter were not slow in raising a clamour.

The Company of the Merchants of Almaine had at that time a Guildhall in the Steelyard, and held many privileges. They were the chief importers of corn, and so came into conflict with the farmers of England. On this account they had begun to have their privileges clipped, and were looked upon with no friendly eye. Frobisher entertained no kind feelings towards the City. So when the merchants of the Steelyard and their Aldermen petitioned the Privy Council against the commander of the 'Tiger,' we can imagine Frobisher receiving it not only with complacency, but increasing his activity in capturing the Easterling corn-ships. Frobisher had had a controversy with the City merchants before the Privy Council some ten years earlier, and had suffered no damage. Out of this he came equally successfully. Meanwhile the Queen had arrived at a decision; and on November 26, 1588, issued a press warrant, in which it is recited that she had appointed six ships to 'remain on the Narrow Seas in warlike manner under our trusty and well-beloved Sir Martin Frobisher, Knight, for our especial service.'

The fleet was composed of the following ships:—

	Tons.	Men.
The Vanguard	500	250
„ Tiger	200	100
„ Tremontaine	150	70
„ Charles	70	40
„ Moon	60	40
„ Spy	50	35
	1,030	535

And although Lord Howard's estimate had been cut down to a mere squadron, even these few ships were ordered to be victualled only for one month. There are persons who think it greater economy to buy by pennyworths than wholesale. The Queen could not bring herself to pay down a large sum once for all. Hers was a policy forced upon her by circumstances.

Hawkins, as Treasurer of the Navy, was at Dover, busied in paying off the fleet. But standing, as he was, between a sovereign who was the keenest auditor in the realm and his own ignorance of accounts, Sir John was naturally in trouble enough. Well might the veteran slave-trader exclaim with devout emphasis in writing to Burghley, 'I pray God I may end this account to Her Majesty's and your Lordship's liking, and avoid mine own undoing; and I trust God will so provide for me, as I shall never meddle with such intricate matters more.'

Frobisher was still cruising in the Channel, having made a happy escape from being involved in similar difficulties to those of Hawkins, which his appointment to the reversion of the Clerkship of the Navy at one time threatened to bring upon him. But the capture of the corn-ships embroiled him sufficiently. The intricate questions connected with neutral bottoms and contraband of war engaged the attention of jurists even then. Frobisher, though a knight, the nephew and grandson of knights,

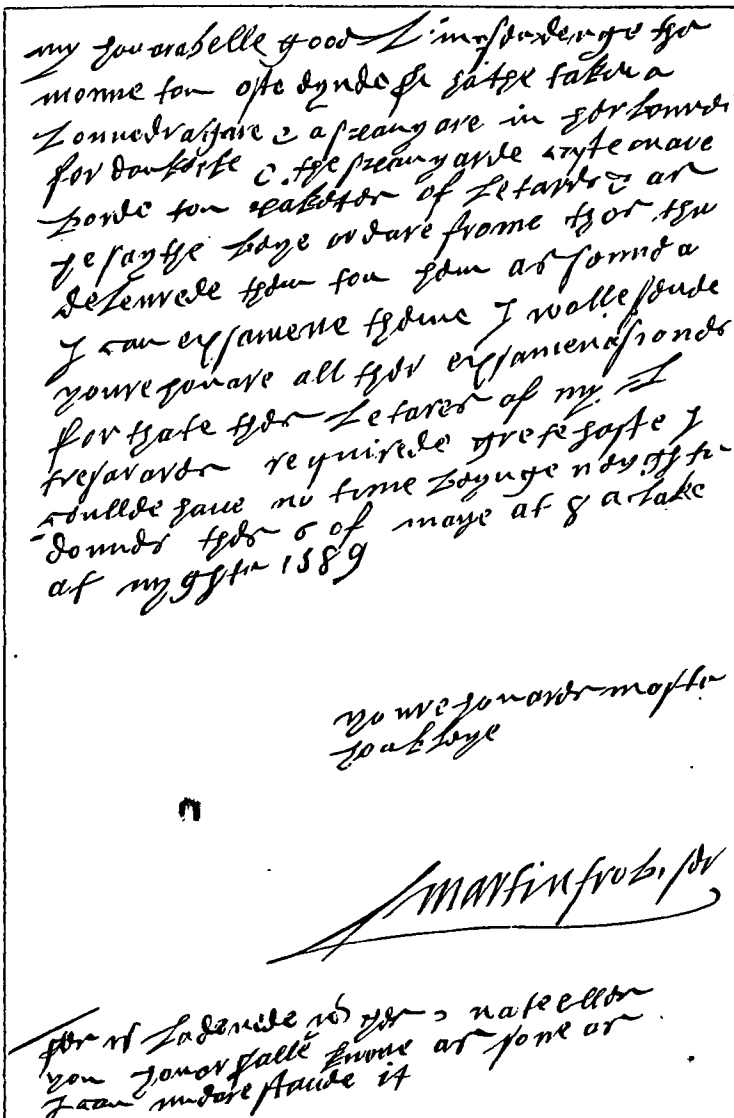
and the Admiral of the Channel fleet, was no sea-lawyer. Besides having the mariner's disdain for courts and clerics he had a memory of sad experiences of lawyers in connection with the lease, in the attempt to enforce which he had been cast in costs. The safest way, he thought, was to make sure of the prize. And if the owners in their efforts before the Judges to obtain recompense should meet the same delays as himself had, there was time enough to prepare his defence. The Judge of the Admiralty was Julius Cæsar, and the namesake of the conqueror of Gaul had trouble enough to adjudicate on Frobisher's captures; but the latter was on the high seas, and beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts of England.

Drake was making preparations for the expedition to the coast of the Peninsula.

The Duke of Parma, having heard of the defeat of the Armada, abandoned his hoys and barges in the harbours, and moving his veterans northwards, laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom. Suspicion enveloped him; disease had laid hold of him; and his genius had begun to be overclouded. All his stratagems miscarried. And to his many trials Sir Horatio Pallavicini added one more—to him a bitterer than any other. Pretending to act with authority, the Genoese sought to buy the Duke from his loyalty with the bribe of the crown of the Netherlands and an English alliance.

CHAPTER LXVI.

In the month of May of the following year, while on board the flag-ship in the Channel, Frobisher accomplished a task that must have been to him more exhausting than



Facsimile of Letter of May 6, 1589, reduced to one-fourth the size.

the winning of a great victory. He wrote three letters in almost as many days. What the toil of writing must have been to him, the spelling will go some way to make manifest :—

'my honarabelle good L in sendenge the monne tou ostedynde she hathe taken a Lounedragare & a spanyare in her bounde for Donkerke & the Spanyarde caste ovare borde tou paketes of Letares & as he saythe beye ordare frome thos that Deleurede them toe hem as sonne as I can exsamene theme I wolle sende youre honare all ther exsamenasiones for thate thes Letares of my L tresarares requirede grete haste I coullde have no time beynge neyghte Dounes thes 6 of Maye at 8 a cloke at neyhte 1589

'Youre honares moste
'honbleye
'MARTIN FROBISER

shee is Ladenede w^t^ ches & nate elles you honar shalle knowe as sone as I can undare stande it

[Addressed on outer leaf]—

'To the reyghte
'honarable the
'L admeralle
'of ingland
'gev thes'

Perhaps Frobisher had intended to inform the Lord-Admiral that the 'Moon' had taken a *l'homme de guerre*, with a Spaniard on board; or that the capture had been made while sending the money to Ostend, and that the ship was laden only with cheese.

The Spaniard proved to be Don John de Toledo; and if, as is probable, a kinsman of Don Francisco de Toledo, was no unimportant personage. He had fought with the Armada on board the 'St. Mathew,' which, riddled at the battle of Gravelines, had fallen on the sands between Sluys and Ostend. But though he was an exchanged prisoner of war, and carried a passport, the presence of a Spaniard on board was enough to make the 'Lounedragare' a lawful prize, according to Frobisher's ideas.

The storms of winter had done the Channel fleet some damage; and the oft-repeated experience of short rations was close upon them. Such are the contents of the second of the letters:—

'My honnorable good L. I have sent you^r^ honno^r^ the pase of this hoye hearin closed and w^th^ all a Letare wher in you^r^ honno^r^ may se all her Ladinge that she was Dericktly bound for Dunkert w^th^ this Don John De toledo. The marchant that is onnor of these goodes ys called Hanse Vandeveck dwellinge in hanserdam.

'I have also examined this Spaniord he confesses as I advertised you^r^ honno^r^ that he was taken w^th^ Don Deage de penmentelo and that his name ys Don John Deteledo and that this marchant Hanse Vandeveck did get him Relesed for a mariner of Roterdam that was presoner in Donkert I have allso sent you^r^ honno^r^ his pasport wherin you maye se his name and the forme of his Deliverie.

'There is in her there [perhaps the writer meant three] pore men ther wifes and childern bound for honscot I have sent the hoy into Dove^r^ peare & I have commanded the pore men and the wemen & childeren a land in Dove^r^ to go wher thay will The hoy the skiper and the Spaniard I kep in safe custodie tell I know you^r^ honno^rs^ plesur hearin.

'When the skipper did se he wase to be taken he willed them all to cast overbord ther leters but thay swere all thay wher but one pore kinsmans to an other of commendacions & of ther parince

'I pray your honnors Deriction for these causes and what I shall doe for the mendinge of my mast and shiftinge of my balis wch must be donne before I take in any vitels I have but vij Dayes vitels left and it plese your honnor the vitels might goe to harwige that comes Doune and the ship maye met ther vitels ther and Dispach all thinges in thre or fower Dayes. Thus comiting your honnor to the almitie Downes this vijth of May 1589

'Your honnors most humbely bound
'MARTIN FROBISER

[Addressed on outer leaf]—

'ffor her matis servis
'To the Right honnorableye
'L admerall of England
'my honnorable good L.
'geve these

'hast hast
'hast
'post hast

[Endorsed]—

'7 May 1589
'Sr Martin furbissher to my L.'

It appears from the letter that follows that the Lord Treasurer had sent to Frobisher for his opinion as to the advisability of abandoning Ostend and giving it back to the sea. Ostend was one of the cautionary towns held by Queen Elizabeth in pledge for certain advances made by her to the States-General to carry on the war against

Philip. Owing to certain artificial features the town had become almost an island. The soil was sandy, and might easily be transformed into an oozy swamp. It contained about three thousand inhabitants, and the fortifications surrounding it were about two miles in circumference. The general opinion in England was that the Duke of Parma, on learning of the overthrow of the Armada, and the readiness of the English fleet lying in Dover Roads to intercept any invasion on his part, would immediately lay siege to Ostend. So Frobisher was consulted as to whether it was better to stand a siege or render such a project abortive by cutting the dykes and giving the spongy island back to the sea. The following letter contains Frobisher's opinion. The place was so inestimable in value to the commerce of England, he thought, that it was not to be lightly given up. If the dykes were cut now, in May, the Duke could easily repair them during the summer, and at small expense. If such a decision had been resolved upon, let, at least, the date of its execution be altered. The approach of winter was the time to do such a thing: then the storms would complete what man had begun. No repairs could be attempted until spring, and by that time the Spaniard would be disposed to borrow from the English and count the cost of such an undertaking, which if attempted would take years to accomplish. Moreover, the war in France between the Holy League and the Pope against Henry IV. and Protestantism was still going on, and Parma desired above all things to throw his forces into that country; therefore everything was to be attempted to occupy him in the Netherlands. Let not the Spanish King, added Frobisher, obtain the smallest advantage wherewith to reanimate the drooping spirits of his defeated hosts. And if Ostend must be lost, let the Duke pay for it with a siege. For himself, Frobisher

offered his life and what little property he had to the defence of the place, believing that the enemy would pay with their blood more than the harbour was worth, if they besieged it.

Frobisher's foresight was justified by the event. In time Parma went to fight for 'Madame League' and Ostend was besieged. Furthermore, the Spaniards did pay more lives and ducats than the place was worth a hundredfold.

This is the third letter. Sir John Conway was then Governor of Ostend:—

'I have sente youre honares Letare of the viij thes aftare noune tou S^r^ Johne Conwaye whiche wolbe retonede w^th^ all the spede thate mabe in wheche I se houe honarableye youe have consethrede ewere poynte whate the Dangare be to leve it tou the Enemeye & whate good the Enemye ma gane beye Essenge of hes gareson wheche he is nou forste tou kepe there apone the frontares of those waste contres besides the recovarenge of a reyche Contre noue lienge wayste & as it is noue veratrobelesome tou the Enemye bute for thate I wolle note sheu my selfe undeutefulle in Diseobeyenge of youre honares comandemente I Dorste note have ventrede tou have sete doune my opinyone in a cayes of so grete im portanes

'Consethrenge the charge the enemy is at w^th^ sondri garesones to kepe the fronteres of thes wayste Contres tou presarve those Contres w^th^ in if he shalle have theme at lebarte beye seydes the welthe & trade thate wolle groue tou the enemye beye it

'for if we shoullde geve it ovare thes somare we can note so muche reuanete or Drounde it but tha wolle recovare it before wintare & make it w^th^ in one yere abetare harbrou then Donkerke for it hathe hade five times as mane shepes belongenge tou it as ever Doncerke

hade it wolbe a fare wores nebare then Donkerke fo it Dothe stande So Dereycte leye in the waye thate all shepes moste par forese falle w^th^ in seyghte of it to go in tou flossene if it be lete go tou the Enemy there can nothenge pase frome floshene nor tou flosene w^th^ oute grete conveye & then have tha all thate coste clere for all there mene of ware all the coste wolbe aharbare tou them for thate it is sande & when tha leste not feyghte tha maye pote thare shepes a shore of a fare sande & the contre beynge frende who cane ofende theme thate contre betwext neupote and blanke broue beinge thares as it is note as Longe as we kepe oste dynde for nou tha dare note sta there for fere of beynge pote a shoure in tou oure mense handes thate ma range all that coste alonste apone seyche an occasione

'If the States refues it tha wolle be at gretare charges w^th^ mantanenge of shepes tou wayste then the toune wolle coste tou be kepte for tha wolle louse more in one yere thene wille defende it if it shoullde be besegede.

'I thinke it noue atime moste unfete tou geve it ovare tou the Enemye for thes somare tha woll repare it tou sarve thare tornes thate the nexte wentare tha wolle leve oute of dangare of the seyes in it yete if it be bute kepe telle wintare then apon some storme it ma be Lefte moste hundare watare & Lienge all the wintare undare watare wolle coste theme tou or thre yeres travelle or tha recovare it besides some harme it wolle Doue of mane thenges that the enemye hathe yete fre thate wolle be Drounte leyke wise if the wentare wethare war come so as the grete charge & there povartes wolle make some stope in it.

'Beseydes thes your honare is acquantede w^th^ thes trobelles of frânes whate dangare it myghte be if the preynes of parma hade thes contre clere & nolandenge plase for her mageste forses he ma be the bouldare tou

aseste thos of the leyge but as Longe as her mageste or the States hathe thes toune he wolbe lothe tou pote ape grete forses in tou franes for fere her mageste shall pote ane forses alande there tou Desposese hem of all the portes beye the seyes & as briges & sleuse neuporte & Donkerke whiche ware moore danger tou them then tha cane gete benefite in franes .

'for of all evilles noue her mageste muste take the beste & holde them tou it frome home for she seythe all thare pretences is a ganste her hines whome god hathe & I hope welle presarve a ganste all her Enemyes & ther is amatare of smalle charge in respecke of thate tha mene touards her this is a shreude bloke in thare waye & kepes theme from sondri porposes & kepe them in fere bothe beye se ande lande more then evereman consaves of it .

'I se tha take all aportunetes beye sworde or pores & noue seinge her mageste is so fare in w^th^ thame she muste dou the leyke for a time for thes somare wolle gev som leyghte whate is beste tou be done Youre honare shalle here of Done antones Sakses & whate wolle pase in franes & if her mageste shoullde noue geve thes Enemy ane in coregmente it wollde in correge those in spane aganste oure flete for tha wolle take a grete corege apon a smalle victore so as if ane resnabelle charge woll dou it rathare then it shoullde be partede w^th^ all w^th^ oute bloues & be for hes trobelle some time ware groune tou some betare sartante ther is a grete sorte of her good sobgekes wher of I wollde make one my sellfe tou ventare bothe my leyfe & thate Letelle I have tou kepe it for a time w^th^ the hellpe of gode a ganste thame my sempelle opinyon is it ware betare hollde it telle wintare w^th^ the ventare of lousenge of it be beinge besegede consethrene this time for if ther be ane resonabelle compene of mene in it tha wolle pa so dere for it as ther wolbe no dishonare to our contre in the Lose of it

I undare stane beye sondre reportes oute of flandares thate the preynse wolle note waste hes men in besegenge of ane toune & so I here oute of spane so thate tha have a forthare pretens bute I hope god wolle provente them.

'Thus moste hombleye prainge pardone if I have gone beyonde my deute & thenke it is of treuselle & mouste bounde deute & tou her mageste and reme for whome I hope god wolle gev me grase tou la my leyfe fore in ane sarves tou Defende her thus muche I have sete doune as fare as my sembelle reson ledes me levinge it ande my sellfe tou youre moste honorabelle & wise consetherasione wth my hombelle prayare tou the allmyghte god for her longe & prosperous rene ovare hus & your Longe Life & hellthe mane yere tou conten her honarabelle Counsellar whiche is tou all oure gode Dounes thes 9. of maye 1589

'Youre honare most hombleye boune
'MARTIN FROBISHER

[Addressed]—

'To the reyhte honarable
'the Lor heye tresarare
'of inglande my
'honarabelle good L
'gev thes'

[First endorsement]—

'9 Maij 1589
'S^{r} Martin frobisshér to
'my L.'

[Second endorsement]—

'S^{r} Martin frobisher
'1589.'

CHAPTER LXVII.

In the spring of this year the Queen awoke to some sense of the real designs of Spain, the dangers to which her realm was exposed, and the necessity of subordinating her own opinion to that of her advisers and commanders by sea and land. She had been repeatedly urged to carry the war to the enemy's borders. The attempts which had been already made in that direction had been crowned with such success that none hesitated to tell Her Majesty that, had she but continued the ravaging of the coast of the Peninsula, the Armada would never have been marshalled for the intended invasion.

The Queen now adopted this opinion. The expedition under Drake and Norris had already sailed for Portugal, taking with them Don Antonio, the Pretender, to hoist his standard as a rallying-point for all the disaffected. Their successes are referred to in Frobisher's third letter.

The departure of Drake from England took place about the middle of April; and the Lord-Admiral proceeded to follow up that expedition with another under Frobisher. The Channel fleet was reorganised and placed under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, who was ordered to guard the 'North and Narrow Seas.' Sir Martin's destination was vaguely described as 'to the westwards.'

His fleet consisted of the following ships:—

The Lion	550 tons		250 men.
„ Elizabeth Bonaventure	600 „		180 „
„ Repentance	200 „		100 „
„ Sun	40 „		35 „
„ Advice	50 „		40 „

The commander of this last ship was Captain Martin Frobisher, or 'Young Martin,' as he is elsewhere called,

and perhaps one of the knight's nephews. Towards the end of June, Drake and Norris returned from their expedition. They had made an attack on Corunna, and another on Lisbon. But, owing to the folly of Don Antonio, the want of siege guns and cavalry, little was done worthy of the forces employed. There had been great mortality among the men; and, for the first time, Drake returned without enough plunder to pay the expenses of equipping the fleet. They had captured sixty ships belonging to the Hanse Towns, in and around the Spanish ports. The position of the Dutch was becoming more and more straitened. Parma had driven them down to the islands and estuaries; but the carrying trade of the high seas was theirs. Now their ships were not only to fight the Spaniards but also to supply the English with prizes.

Two months after the return of Drake and Norris—that is, on August 30—the Queen issued her press warrant for the manning and equipping of the fleet under Frobisher, in which it is recited that the expedition was for Her Majesty's 'certain special service in the South and West Seas.'

The fleet set sail in September, and seems to have wisely abstained from approaching those parts of the Peninsula which had been so lately visited by the English, and where the Spaniards had concentrated the slender forces they had at home.

About four miles south-east of Cape St. Vincent is Cape Sagres. Here there was a small fortified seaport town called by the name of the Cape. The first point touched at by Frobisher was this; and seeing a large Biscayan in port, he immediately prepared for an attack. It was sharp and hot work whenever the Admiral gave his prow and broadside to the enemy. The Biscayan returned the fire, and Castle Sagres poured in a damaging fire upon

the fleet. But Frobisher had come for a prize, and the Biscayan ship was cut out successfully and carried away. The English ships had received considerable hurt. The injuries of the 'Repentance' alone are mentioned. Her masts had been shot through and her sails pierced. But since she was only the third ship of the fleet, it is probable the 'Lion' and 'Elizabeth Bonaventure' had suffered as severely.

From Cape Sagres Frobisher crossed over to the Azores. But the Earl of Cumberland was there before him. Whether the Queen sent her ships abroad or kept them to guard 'Chatham Church,' the Earl of Cumberland never let a Plate fleet approach the Westward Isles without a fretting and often a loss. This year the Earl was very successful in his captures, but had the ill-fortune to arrive before Terceira just as the West Indian fleet was entering the well-fortified harbour of Angra. It consisted of eighteen ships, richly laden, and was the prize for which the Earl had been on the look-out.

This was in August. And Frobisher nicely timed both his arrival and course; for this fleet having obtained intelligence of the Earl of Cumberland's departure homeward, sailed boldly out of Terceira, and, between the islands and Spain, fell in with the English ships under Frobisher.

A severe battle ensued, but the details are unknown any farther than that the English took the flag-ships of the Admiral and Vice-Admiral. Having three prizes in charge, Frobisher returned to England. But the Admiral's ship taken from the Spaniards had received such injuries that she sank off Eddystone rock as they came up the Channel. Another of the same fleet which had been captured by the Earl was driven ashore at Mount's Bay. Thus, towards the close of the year, having only been victualled for three months, and having both alarmed the Spanish

coast and scattered the West Indian fleet, the expedition returned to England, bringing with them the two remaining prizes, which were valued at the moderate sum of 15,000*l.*

On their return home Sir John Hawkins, learning of the prize-money and the injuries done to his ship, the 'Repentance,' sent in a claim for damages. The expedition had been a speculation with him. Indeed, the naval enterprises under Elizabeth were almost altogether made up of ships sent out by private owners who looked to a share of the plunder for their recompense. And in this instance Hawkins, with a characteristic hunger for profits, thought to obtain an allowance for damage as well as his share of the prize-money. The 'Repentance,' he said, had been a great expense to him in her fitting out, and now she 'hath wasted and worn her ground tackle, her sails and cordage all spoiled, her masts shot through.'

A note signed by Howard, Frobisher, Palmer, Burroughs, and Gonson was the brief and curt answer to the petition of Hawkins. The tonnage of the fleet is put down at 1,400 tons, and that of the 'Repentance' at 200:—

'The Repentance part is the 7th part.

'The goods being valued at £15,000 the third part for the shipping is £5,000.

'The 7th part whereof is due to Sir John Hawkins, Knight, and amounteth to the sum of £714 5. 0.'

Inasmuch as the knight's share was about half the cost of building a new ship of the tonnage of the 'Repentance' it had proved to him a prosperous three months' cruise.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Lord Burghley was so well pleased with the letter of Frobisher, containing his opinion of the necessity of holding Ostend at any reasonable cost, that he referred another matter to the knight for his advice. This was the oft-attempted, and but partially successful scheme of intercepting the treasure-fleet sailing annually from the West Indies to Spain. The great carracks of that fleet carried between their decks the annual harvest of the New World. The Spanish conquerors of Mexico and Peru had not yet reduced the natives to absolute poverty or exhausted the mines. To slavery they had been reduced; and all that the sword, lash, rack, fire, and other tortures unimaginable to a humane mind could extract during the twelve months was poured, in the autumn, into the ever empty lap of Spain. From pagan America Philip thus obtained the means with which he was attempting to crush the civil and religious liberty of Europe and reduce it to a more gloomy and less beautiful paganism. The question now referred to Frobisher was the best way of cutting off this stream of wealth and diverting it to English pockets.

But though the Lord Treasurer had been pleased with the knight's letter, full as it was of keen insight into the state of the Continent, he could not have been satisfied with the chirography and orthography, which must have puzzled more than one of the Treasury clerks; and so, in asking his opinion once more, Lord Burghley had doubtless hinted at the advisability of his correspondent employing an amanuensis. With such an intimation Frobisher would readily fall in, as writing could not have been a luxury to him. This may account for the following letter

being in another hand, though bearing the knight's signature. It is a burnt fragment in the Cottonian MSS :—

. . . . . 'is but 3 frigates with . . . . comparison in value to the fleet . . . . . never so great a fleet to come home . . . . . as it is reported of the great death of . . . . . is the cause they came not home this for . . . . . October or November before they shall be at . . . . . the Coast of Spain, and there is no place so certain . . . . St Mary to meet with them.

'For no doubt if they came home this year they will have . . . . . waft them sent to meet them, so as there must be . . . . . to overthrow them, for although eight good ships of the . . . . . Majesty's will be able to beat them they shall be able to . . . . . few of them; for when they come to fly it is the number that take them, for when every ship makes shift for her . . . . . multitude must perform the chase.

'So that my opinion is there may be no less than eight g . . . . . of the Queen's Majesty's and twelve good merchants, and all th . . men of war that may be gotten to accompany them.

'The Queen's Majesty were better bestow a hundred th . . . . pounds to overthrow them if she gain not one penny by . . . . . let them pass; for if these forces of ships may be set f . . . . . Her Majesty they will be by God's help able to overthrow them . . . . this fleet may be so provided that if the Spanish fleet sh . . . come home this year as there is some presumption through the . . . . some ship and men that they say is lost that should have go . . the Havana with men and provision for them.

'If it please her Majesty but to put into her fleet . . . . . victuals more than will serve her fleet to go for Capo

. . . . . they may go to the Havana and meet them on their wafture . . . . . come to them.

'For there is no doubt but if Her Majesty's fleet go for the co . . . of Spain first, they shall get intelligence which way to wor . . . . to encounter them.

'My good Lord, these matters be of so great importance as I dare not take upon me to set down the whole circumstance but if it please your honors to call such persons before you as there is good store of the best sorts, and hear their several opinions thoroughly debated, this cause will show itself more plainly how necessary it is to be looked into at this present and with reasonable charge to Her Majesty as it may be considered on.

'I think there will be found so many gentlemen and towns upon the seacoast as with small motion will be willing to venture; for that I hear the most men of judgment desirous to have performed for they the damage that may come to the . . . .

[The next portion is burnt.]

. . . . . 'Her Majesty thinks necessary . . . . . .
. . . . . Her Highness to call for their opinions . . . . .
. . . . season and venture their lives for the pre . . . .
. . . be done at such times of the year which will be . . .
. . . honor in several men's opinions when you shall . . .
. . . . never moved Her Highness to set out any fleet but a gain . . . ing of the Spanish fleet & I think this act in being well-considered is to the Spaniards of as great danger as anything that may happen to them

'Thus my most honorable good Lord I crave pardon for my boldness, acknowledging myself one of the least in judgment of a great number in this land in these affairs; but in discharging of my duty to answer my honorable good Lord Admiral his question according to my knowledge and discharge of my duty to my most gracious

Sovereign and your honors whom I pray God long to reign and govern over us to his glory

'Your honors most humble

MARTIN FROBISER

'To my Lo. Tres.'

As in the matter of Ostend, so in this, Frobisher's advice was followed almost to the letter. A fleet consisting not only of eight, but twelve of Her Majesty's ships and two pinnaces was ordered to be immediately got ready. The private adventurers recommended were also ready. But there was a fatal departure from the Admiral's opinion. He had anticipated the contingency of the fleet not sailing from the Indies that year, and so recommended that the fleet should be victualled for a period sufficient to enable the English to sail to Havana in search of the carracks, should they be stayed for the year. But the English ships were only provisioned for four months, to the defeat of the object in view. Elizabeth was slowly growing towards an appreciation of the true policy, but the penny-wise husbandry was not yet altogether abandoned.

Her Majesty's ships equipped for the expedition were the following:—

		Commanders.
The Revenge	250 men	Sir Martin Frobisher.
„ Mary Rose	250 „	Sir John Hawkins.
„ Lion	250 „	Sir Edward Yorke.
„ Bonaventure	250 „	Capt. Fenner.
„ Rainbow	250 „	Sir George Beeston.
„ Hope	250 „	Capt. Bostock.
„ Nonpareil	250 „	
„ Dreadnought	200 „	Capt. Martin Frobisher.
„ Swiftsure	180 „	
„ Foresight	160 „	
„ Quittance	100 „	Capt. Hawkins.
„ Crane	100 „	
„ Moon	40 „	
„ Merlin	40 „	
	2,570	

Sir Martin was appointed Admiral and Sir John Vice-Admiral. The Captains were only second in experience and achievement to the Admirals. The fleet was divided into two squadrons, Hawkins having the command of the second. The veteran was at Deptford when he received the appointment, engaged still as Treasurer of the Navy, an occupation of which he said the duties were like the spokes of a wheel—when one went down two more came up; a simile which had been supplied him for his consolation by the Lord Treasurer.

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE fleet set sail during the month of May 1590. Success depended upon secresy. Yet Philip in Madrid was following the progress of the equipment as if the fleet had been his own fitting out at Corunna. He knew the number of ships and their armaments, as well as their destination. Thus while Frobisher was sailing down the Channel, the Spanish king was getting ready a fleet of twenty great ships to proceed to the Azores and welcome the English on their arrival. This was appropriately placed under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassano, brother of Santa Cruz, who had near these same islands defeated the expedition of Don Antonio nine years before. The Don was to scatter the enemy and convoy the carracks. But he had not proceeded far on his errand before Philip changed his plans and commanded Admiral Bassano back to guard the Spanish coast. At the same time a swift despatch boat was sent off to the West Indies with orders for the carracks to winter in the Indies.

Frobisher, bearing on his course towards the Western Isles, overtook a Flemish ship under one Arnold Johnson, from whom the knight took eight hundred odd pieces of silver as contraband of war: being perhaps a remittance to a Spanish merchant. Having obtained this convenient bag of silver for the current expenses of the fleet, he resumed his course, to meet and take the carracks, some of which had been known, with the cargo, to be worth 200,000*l*., or nearly a million and a quarter, allowing for the difference in the value of money. But Frobisher little thought that hundreds of leagues to the westward was that despatch boat carrying to the outermost bounds intelligence of his secret expedition. The fleet of Bassano would not come out to be boarded nor the West India ships to be captured. Had Frobisher known this he might have turned about and gone home again, since Her Majesty had not thought fit to victual the ships for the voyage to Havana.

The squadron of Frobisher, having in vain cruised some time off the coast of Spain to pick up information and prizes, appeared off Terceira on August 7. It consisted of twenty sail, and was composed of six ships and two pinnaces of Her Majesty, the remaining twelve being merchantmen. The English made no demonstration, but sailed on towards Fayal. The preceding summer the Earl of Cumberland had taken the place without striking a blow, and afterwards abandoned it. The fleet now entered the bay expecting no opposition, but contrariwise found that the Spaniards had in the meantime strongly fortified and armed it.

A Hollander who was at Terceira relates that Frobisher, seeing the place so well prepared to receive him, sent a trumpeter ashore with a civil request for the Governor's permission to take in fresh water, etc., and that the Governor shot the messenger for an answer: that then Frobisher by

way of warning bade the Governor be on his guard; to which message the latter returned a haughty answer, and at once sent to Terceira for powder and biscuit, which arrived safely.

The story is only what the Hollander heard from the people of Fayal, and contains so many improbable statements as to be little worth. That Frobisher would content himself with a threat when the enemy had treacherously shot his messenger, or that a convoy of powder and provisions could pass to Fayal with a fleet of twenty English ships lying before it, is incredible. The islanders were in a terrible fright. Another of those English fleets which had so often descended upon their coasts, capturing everything before them, was among the islands. Rumours of other fleets afloat were received. Two Netherland hulks had just arrived at Terceira, 'being half the seas over' perhaps with fright. They had been overhauled by Sir John Hawkins, who was cruising between the islands and the mainland. Each of the Queen's ships under that Admiral had eighty pieces of ordnance. They had heard that Drake was in the Channel with forty great ships; and there lay ten other English ships, so these Netherlanders said, at Cape St. Vincent, to take any of the West Indian fleet that might escape Frobisher and his sea-dogs.

All these things were enough to make the islanders tremble; and that Frobisher should sail away without enforcing his request for fresh water might well give them the impression that they had won a great victory.

The expedition had been robbed of its object before its departure from home; and after cruising some time in the path of the expected carracks the truth was at last discovered, and the fleet began the return voyage.

Frobisher's captains were bitterly disappointed. To them it was a loss of prize-money to an untold amount.

To the merchant-ships it was a double loss. In this spirit they began to sweep the sea clean between them and England. The Dutch ships, as usual, fell a prey; and Julius Cæsar, of the Admiralty, had abundance of work provided for him by the chagrined captains. Frobisher's squadron sailed into Plymouth on September 29, 1590; having been away from England about four months.

Monson, who is followed by all subsequent writers, asserts that the fleet was seven months on the voyage; but the facts do not agree with that statement. Sir John Hawkins was at Deptford on April 16, penning one of his jeremiads to the Lord Treasurer, in which there is no hint of the approaching expedition, except that in his stereotyped offer of resignation: 'My only desire is that it may please Her Majesty some course may be taken wherein Her Majesty may be satisfied that a plain and honest course hath been taken and carried in th' office, and then to dispose of my place to whom it shall please Her Highness, and I shall be ready to serve Her Majesty any other way that I shall be appointed, wherein my skill or ability will extend, and so I humbly take my leave from Deptford the 16th of April 1590.'

The evidence afforded by this letter, the fact that the fleet was only victualled for four months, and that the return to Plymouth was effected on September 29, all tend to prove the inaccuracy of Monson's account.

The expedition had borne the fruit of doing Spain an irreparable injury. The Plate fleet had been compelled to winter in the Havanas, to the loss of the Spanish exchequer, expense to the ships, and great injury to the Spanish merchants. It is said that many came to bankruptcy in Seville and elsewhere,—'besides it was so great a weakening to their ships to winter in the Indies that many years hardly sufficed to repair the damage they received.'

Sir John Hawkins, now seventy-five at least, was deeper than ever in the Slough of Despond over the failure of the expedition. He had doubtless ventured deeply in it; his avarice was disappointed; and so for his own consolation under the circumstances, as well as that of the Queen, he had recourse to Scripture in a deprecatory letter which he addressed to Her Majesty. 'Paul planteth,' quotes the old Admiral, defrauded of his lucre, 'and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase.' Elizabeth was not Philip of Spain, and could ill brook this cant; so she burst forth into one of her keen, witty, profane exclamations: 'God's death! This fool went out a soldier, and is come home a divine!'

And so Sir John Hawkins returned to grinding in the mill of the Naval Treasury and pouring out lamentations, wherein he ever offers his resignation with the confidence of a man who feels himself indispensable.

CHAPTER LXX.

But there was another and a very different account of the expedition to be written. There had been on board a man named Thomas Davis, who seems to have been one of those unpleasant, though useful scavenger-vultures, called amateur detectives. Not one wrong or abuse of power had escaped his notice. And after the return of the expedition he furnished the Admiralty with a few 'observations' which form an indictment of abuses only to be equalled by that supplied by Michael Lock to the Company of Cathay twelve years before. No one is mentioned by name, but the inference is clear that Frobisher and

young Martin are the chief offenders, though every man on board, petty officers, mariners, soldiers, and apprentices, are among the accused. The items arrange themselves thus:—

1. The pressed able-bodies brought to Chatham had themselves generally exchanged for an equal number of incompetents, who are usually 'busy-headed and procurers of mutinies.' Mr. Davis had seen in a crew of 250 men as many as 90 boys; which, excluding the officers and sailors, only left 80 helmsmen. Many of the soldiers were in reality sailors, who had shipped themselves in the former capacity to escape their turn at the helm. Again, many of the men pressed pretended to be innocent of the sea, and had themselves discharged. The justices on shore, on receiving commission to press, warned away the best sailors.

So far Mr. Davis had spoken of matters rather generally; now he comes to the officers of the fleet. The captains 'oftentimes upon some liking consideration' abused the Queen's press, and, like Falstaff, might exclaim, 'I have got in exchange of a hundred and fifty soldiers three hundred and odd pounds,' and 'a hundred and fifty tattered prodigals lately come from swine-keeping, from eating draff and husks.'

2. With respect to the gunners of the fleet, though the proper proportion for a crew of 250 was 30 of that class, yet Mr. Davis saw more than one instance in this fleet where there were only six gunners fit for the work. Such men were very insolent, and refused obedience until the commanders accepted their views. They were also so incompetent that he had known them throw fifty great shot at a prize lying within musket range and not hit the hull twice, and that in moderate weather. But the rascality of those old artillerymen was such that for every three

hundred weight of powder burned they claimed an allowance of seven hundred weight. Those prodigals sold powder by the barrel 'to maintain their evil, lascivious ways.'

3. Though the muster-rolls showed two hundred and fifty men, says Mr. Davis, there were commonly only one hundred and sixty on board. Still rations and pay were drawn for the full complement, and so Her Majesty was defrauded of 100*l.* a month. Every butt of beer was twenty-seven gallons short. The beef and biscuit charged at the full rate had already been at sea.

4. Mr. Davis says the consequences of being short-handed were many. He had known some captains in the fleet refuse to fight, alleging that they were far from home; and should any of their men receive hurt, they would not be able to sail their ship back again. Such was the worst evil of being short-handed.

5. Mr. Davis now brings a charge of something very like cowardice against one of the Admirals. When one of the squadrons was off Cape Finisterre, in July, intelligence was brought to the Admiral from one of his ships sailing nearest a-land that the convoy of ammunition and provisions despatched from Lisbon to Brittany for 'Madame League' was lying five or six leagues to the westward, and that their only protection was four fly-boats. Thereupon the Admiral determined to fight the next morning, 'and hanged out a light all night, commanding his fleet to follow him. The Spanish navy bare next hand from them by east north east, and th' Admiral shaped his course south south west.' When some found fault next day Mr. Davis says the only answer returned was, 'If they meant to have fought with us they might have followed by the light.'

Again, one of the Admirals has a grievous charge

brought against him. Mr. Davis says that on June 5 sundry prizes were taken on the coast of France, whereof some were Easterlings and others Newfoundland men. The Admiral of the squadron gave one laden with fish 'unto a kinsman of his.' Since the son of Hawkins and young Martin, the probable nephew of Frobisher, both were in command, it is not obvious which Admiral is meant, though it is doubtless the latter that Mr. Davis is hurling his accusations against. Money, he says, was found in one of these prizes.

6. In the beginning of the voyage the fleet had loitered in sailing from Chatham to Plymouth; they had put into several ports on the way, and allowed their crews ashore. But the meals thus saved were still charged for.

7. One unnamed captain—(Mr. Davis seems to be pointing towards young Martin)—had taken wine on board for the company, but he had afterwards sold it for his own benefit.

He had taken silk to the value of a thousand marks from two French ships and converted it to his own use.

He had once gone ashore with all his men; a storm had suddenly come down and driven the ship aground. Had not the wind suddenly shifted she would have become a total loss through the negligence of her captain.

But the boatswains were as dishonest as their superiors. They put down hawsers measuring fifty or sixty fathoms at a hundred. They were always making demands for brass sheavers or pulley-wheels and selling them.

Such were most of the accusations which Thomas Davis brought against the admirals, captains, boatswains, gunners, and men of the expedition. If half were true it is a wonder the captains did not steal a fortress and become a band of pirates; it is a wonder what the Treasurer of the Navy, who was in command of one squadron,

and the martinet Frobisher, in command of the other, could have been about; and it is no wonder the Queen was a keen accountant if her servants were such rogues.

CHAPTER LXXI.

WITHIN a few weeks of the return of the fleet, Julius Cæsar was fully occupied with claimants demanding restitution of the prizes. Peter Petersen, master of the 'Maiden,' or 'Yongfrau,' of Pomerania, appeared, claiming the return of his ship and cargo. Michael Leman appeared on behalf of the merchants of Holland and Zeeland. Francis le Fort claimed ten bags of money. Michael du Boies claimed some more of the bags of silver. Hendrick Voets, appearing on behalf of Hendrick de Haese, had a claim for the restitution of money. And how many more can only be conjectured. The history of the sequel was becoming more voluminous than that of the expedition.

In the middle of November the Admiralty ordered an examination of the captains and the charges brought against them. A brief note of the inquiry, signed by Palmer, Burroughs, and Gonson, was satisfactory to the accused at least:—

'Sir Martin Frobisher doth acknowledge that he received outwards bound of Arnold Johnson, a Fleming, 862 pieces of silver of four shillings the piece, which amounts to the sum of £172. 8. 0.

'Young Martin Frobisher, Captain of the Dreadnought, doth confess that he and the Captains that arrived at Plymouth with him homewards bound the 29th of September

1590 did receive there (we know not of whom, but suppose it was by them taken out of those flyboats stayed at the seas and brought into Plymouth by the Dreadnought) the sum of £1154. 2. 0. which was distributed amongst the said Captains as followeth:—

Sir George Beeston, Vice Admiral in the Lion, doth acknowledge that he received of the same money the sum of	306	2	0
Edward York, Captain of the Bonaventure, received	431	0	0
The said Martin Frobisher doth acknowledge he received thereof	287	0	0
John Bostock, Captain of the Crane, doth acknowledge that he received the sum of .	130	0	0
Sum	1154	2	0

'The sum of all the money which Sir Martin Frobisher and the Captains under his charge do confess that they have received from Netherlanders, both outwards bound, homeward bound, and since they came hence, doth amount to the sum of £1326. 10., for which sum they have given up their several accounts to the officers of the Navy, wherein it appeareth they have disbursed the same with a surplusage for the use of Her Majesty's ships under their special charges in wages for discharge of their companies and for victuals for their companies to bring the ships to Chatham, for which surplusage they are to be allowed out of the office of the Admiralty.'

Frobisher and his captains were thus whitewashed and absolved; but that did not recompense the suppliants besieging the Court of Master Julius Cæsar. Their last utterance—and that doubtless a vain one, since the money, having been expended on the fleet, if refunded must come out of the Royal Exchequer—was to the Lord Treasurer. The Judge of the Admiralty, the petitioners relate, had

declared there was no reason for retaining the ships or cargo; and why, then, was the money withheld? Would it please his Lordship to command Sir Martin Frobisher to give up the money or 'such money as is extant,' with the balance to follow?

It all ended, no doubt, in the Dutch adding a few more to the long list of injuries which they had already scored against the English.

Sir John Hawkins and his squadron had not returned to Plymouth empty. Some valuable cargoes had fallen into their hands and been brought into port. In this case the owners and factors, represented by a certain Mr. Atkinson, went a shorter way to regain their goods. A warrant was obtained from the Lords of the Privy Council to search for and take the goods. Armed with this, Atkinson rode away to Plymouth in quest. But that port was far away from London in those days, and an Admiral was a greater man to the inhabitants than all the Lords of the Privy Council. A London merchant with a London writ was ill-informed when he undertook a journey to compete with officers of the navy in their very lair.

But a good beginning was made by the factor. Most of the property was found in divers warehouses, for the captors had already distributed it. Some of the casks were found with the marks erased at the command of Richard Hawkins, Sir John's son. Some parcels of cochineal, when examined, were discovered to have been strangely transformed, for the contents were 'mingled with grimy grains and coal-dust.' Atkinson went at once to the Commissioners and brought them to see what had been done. Those gentlemen certified to the fact. Then they sent for the Admiral, who was requested to command his son to restore the remainder of the goods, consisting of cochineal, indigo, feathers, &c. This Hawkins flatly

refused to do. He, moreover, wrote a private letter to the Mayor of the town by way of a warrant requiring that officer to recapture the property. Atkinson, contenting himself with what he had, proceeded to arrange for his departure. Two days were spent in putting the articles in casks; and, on the third morning, after he had trimly packed all on the carrier's horses and fairly started, one of Hawkins's men, followed by two or three score mariners, 'with great violence' seized on the packs and carried them away. Atkinson displayed his warrant from the Privy Council; but it was of no avail, and he was forced to return to London, bringing back only the warrant he had taken with him on departing thence.

CHAPTER LXXII.

The matter of the money-bags having got into the maelstrom between the Treasury and the Admiralty, Frobisher had leisure to visit the scenes of his youth. His kinsmen at Altofts must have heard many and magnified rumours of the knight's achievements and grandeur. From an apprentice he had grown into a master. The nation had long ago learned his name as that of a daring privateer. He had corrected that impression by engaging in exploration. He had startled England by discovering, according to the vulgar rumour, the mine where Solomon dug the gold for the Temple at Jerusalem. He had found out the North-West Passage to Cathay, as the nation still believed. He had become a captain of Her Majesty's navy, and been foremost in breaking the might of that Armada which had filled the North-Eastern

coast with superstitious dread. He had been made a knight and an admiral. He had often spoken to the Queen, and been decorated by her. And he had been born at their hamlet of Altofts, in Yorkshire. These things had no doubt been the theme of many a fireside for years. His own family, too, who had thrown him over the edge of the nest before he was fledged, had grown proud of their kinsman who had made the patronymic famous in history.

Thus, in the summer of 1591, having turned his fiftieth year, he appeared at his native place with his honours thick upon him; and what more could man desire, except it were a wife? The old county families threw their doors as wide open to him as the humblest of the farmers did. And there was one through which he learned to pass very often; that was the door of Dame Dorothy Widmerpoole, the daughter of Lord Wentworth, of the South, and widow of Sir William Widmerpoole.

The widow Riggatt had passed away from 'a poor room within another at Hampstead' to a still narrower, lower chamber; and Dame Dorothy now took her place as the wife of Sir Martin Frobisher. In his new circumstances an estate was necessary. Sir John Saville of the Exchequer was his friend. Frobisher was thus informed of a fair purchase to be made in his native place. The Queen had suppressed the priory of Mattersey and confiscated its estates. The knight accordingly invested his prize-money from the two voyages and the capture of Don Pedro. In November 1591 the letters patent of 'Her Highness' were delivered in consideration of the sum of 948*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.* constituting Sir Martin Frobisher the proprietor 'of the Manor of Whitwood, in the County of York, and of the Grange of Finningley, in the County of Notts.'

Frobisher at once set about building upon his pro-

perty and improving it. Young Martin, having married the daughter of Dame Dorothy, was placed in the occupation of the Grange of Finningley, where a son was born to him in the following year. The elder resided at Whitwood. But he was not permitted long to enjoy his new and rustic life. Others were unwittingly preparing for him more work on the high seas.

During the year 1591 there had been more than one combat between English and Spanish ships. There had also been more than one attempt to intercept the West Indian fleet. That annual cruiser, the Earl of Cumberland, had been to the coast of Spain and come back with some of his feathers plucked. The Lord Thomas Howard, with a fair fleet, had been to the Azores. But Don Alonzo de Bassano had stolen a march upon him, met the carracks, and made an unexpected attack upon the English fleet while leisurely awaiting the arrival of their prizes. It was at this time and place that Sir Richard Grenville fought that fifteen hours' rash, heroic, reckless, and gloriously immortal combat of one ship against a fleet of fifty-three sail.

The many failures and partial successes in attempting to capture the Plate fleet, which was the mariner's El Dorado, fired every chivalrous breast in England to follow in the same path. Among others Sir Walter Raleigh prepared to undertake the task. He had an additional reason for leaving England awhile. The Queen's favour seemed to be declining. With his usual enthusiasm he collected all his means and set to work. He enlisted many noble friends in the enterprise. Two of the Queen's ships, the 'Foresight' and the 'Garland,' were obtained, which, with thirteen others, formed the fleet; and during the whole of the winter of 1591–2 Raleigh was very active in fitting out this expedition.

By February everything was in readiness at Chatham. Sir Walter's plan involved an early departure. It will be remembered that Frobisher had advised, in his letter to Lord Burghley, that any fleet intended for such an enterprise should be victualled for the voyage to the Indies. The stereotyped plan of lying off the Azores was too well known to the Spaniards to promise success. So Raleigh proposed to sail westwards, with extended line, along the path of the returning ships until he fell in with them; and then perhaps make a descent on Panama, where all the bullion wrung from Central America and Peru was gathered together. He himself would take the chief command, with Sir John Burroughs as second.

The usual easterly winds now set in, and there were no tugs in those days; so the departure was delayed from day to day. Sir Walter was rowing to and fro between the fleet and Court with a perplexed mind and heart that sank a little at every day's delay. The friends that had ventured at his advice, being no sailors, could not understand the matter. The Queen began to grow fond again, and talked of not letting Sir Walter depart from England. This increased the anxiety of his friends and his own, for their confidence in his ability had been the chief argument with them. The Queen furthermore suggested that Frobisher should have the command, for he was her favourite Admiral. Raleigh answered that he would go with the fleet only fifty or sixty leagues, to see his people well on their way, and return again.

Days had grown into weeks, and the east wind still blew persistently, locking the fleet in Chatham. By the middle of March there was a clamour for wages. Raleigh turned to the Queen for money. She had undertaken, as also the other venturers, to pay their own crews. His

fond mistress gave him 5,000*l.* to gratify her love, and with the other hand took the historical 'Ark Raleigh,' Sir Walter's ship, as a consideration, wherewith to gratify her parsimony.

For three months Sir Walter repeated his perplexed rides between the Court and the fleet, with the wind blowing shrill and keen into the mouth of Chatham harbour; while the men were devouring the meat and drink that should have served in crossing the ocean, and only keeping the hulls clean for their pay. At last, when Raleigh was on the point of accepting ruin and giving up the enterprise, the weather changed. On May 6, 1592, the long-delayed fleet set sail, with Raleigh in command. The Spanish king had, as usual, full information of the intentions and plans of the English, and was making preparations to thwart them.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Queen had fallen in with Raleigh's proposal to see the fleet on its way for fifty or sixty leagues. The Lord-Admiral was commanded to place the pinnace 'Disdain' at his orders, that he might return in her. The Queen had suggested Frobisher as the right man to take charge of the expedition in Sir Walter's absence, and as his lieutenant. Raleigh had raised some objections, alleging that his friends would complain, and that his whole fortune would be entrusted to another. In spite of all, Raleigh had to feign acquiescence in the Queen's design, though determined inwardly to evade her.

The Queen had her suspicions of his ingenuousness.

Raleigh was making no arrangements for transferring the command. If he got fifty leagues away how could she compel his return? She was not ignorant that, under such circumstances, he would run the risk of warding off her displeasure with Panama destroyed and some rich prizes brought home. The Queen was therefore on the alert, and sent for Frobisher to abandon his bucolic pursuits and come up to London to be at hand. Nor was she mistaken; for when Raleigh set sail, leaving the 'Disdain' behind, her suspicions were confirmed. Frobisher was given a letter recalling Raleigh and commanded to go at once in pursuit with the pinnace. It was a short chase for such a sailor as the Admiral. Overtaking Raleigh the same evening, he delivered the Queen's letter and exhibited the commission appointing him to the chief command. Sir Walter interpreted the Queen's language to suit his own purpose, and continued still on board the 'Garland.'

Within a couple of days the fleet fell in with a ship of M. Gourdan's, who, it will be remembered, had shelled the light-fingered mariners 'rummaging' the great galleass on Calais Bar. On board was a Mr. Neville Davis, lately liberated from a twelve years' captivity in the Spanish Inquisition. He said it was useless to pursue the undertaking, for that Philip knew all their plans, and had sent a despatch commanding the carracks to winter in the Indies. This discouraging intelligence did not turn Raleigh back from his purpose. On the 11th, being off Finisterre, a sudden storm came upon them, scattering the fleet, destroying nearly all the boats and pinnaces, and very nigh engulfing the 'Garland' and 'Raleigh.' This was enough. The season was so far advanced, the provisions so much exhausted, the means of landing so damaged, that it would be useless to prosecute the design on Panama. Recalling

the Queen's commands to mind, and perceiving that he could lay no conquered colony at her feet, he summoned Frobisher and Burroughs to the 'Garland' and divided the fleet into two squadrons, giving one to each of the two admirals. Frobisher, taking command of the 'Garland,' was to lie off the coast of Spain, and amuse the men-of-war sent out annually to 'waft' the Plate fleet home from the Azores, as the expression was in those days. Burroughs was to take his squadron to the Westward Islands and lie in wait for the expected carracks. Having given his instructions, Sir Walter descended from the deck of the 'Garland,' and stepping on board the 'Disdain,' reluctantly shaped his course for England.

The 'Garland' was a bad sailer. And the two squadrons, though following very nearly the same course, were not long in parting company. Coming off the coast of Portugal, Frobisher fell in with a Spanish ship of six hundred tons. After a sharp fight she struck her flag. Her name was the 'Santa Clara,' bound for the West Indies with a cargo of assorted iron-ware, which was valued in England at 7,000*l*. Thither she was sent with a prize crew, after being 'first rummaged' for valuables. After this good beginning the voyage southwards was continued.

The squadron of Burroughs coming athwart Lisbon espied a sail far down the wind. The Admiral in the swift sailer, the 'Roebuck,' went at once in pursuit. The Spaniard was a fly-boat and also a fast ship. So the chase was a long one. But the 'Roebuck' gradually drew up to the fugitive, which offered no resistance and struck her flag. From the Spanish captain intelligence was obtained of a powerful fleet fitting out at the port of St. Lucar, near Cadiz; that it was under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassano, and under orders to proceed to the Azores and convoy the Plate ships into a safe harbour. But should the English fleet proceed towards the Indies,

as Philip had heard was their intention, Don Alonzo was to follow and offer battle at all hazards.

While Sir John was gleaning these facts from his prisoner, the 'Roebuck' and her prize were leisurely tacking back towards the squadron, from which the chase had carried the Admiral a considerable distance. But before the junction had been effected a Spanish fleet was seen to seawards extending the line, with the evident purpose of driving the English ships on shore. There was an immediate contest of seamanship, and it was never known that the English had yet been defeated in a competition of that kind. Sir John extricated his ships with some dexterity and stood away for the Azores, having long enough delayed the execution of his part of the undertaking.

In a little while Frobisher and his squadron fell in with this enemy; and the Spaniards supposing that they had all the English fleet before them, warily followed Frobisher up and down, being attacked whenever they showed any inclination to go in search of the carracks, and being eluded whenever they offered battle. Frobisher's squadron consisted of, some say, three, and others five ships; for few had cared to stay to fight while prizes were to be taken to the westward. He, too, was mistaken in his adversary, for he supposed himself opposed to Don Alonzo; but that Admiral was still in the mouth of the Guadalquiver, content to lie in port as long as the English fleet was known to be harmlessly cruising up and down the coast watched by a Spanish fleet.

But the secret could not be kept always. Intelligence was received in Spain that the English had divided their fleet into two squadrons, one only of which was on the coast, while the other was already at the Azores. Thereupon Don Alonzo was instantly ordered thither with his fleet of twenty-three galleons.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

The Earl of Cumberland had, as usual, two or three ships cruising among the islands ready for any lucky windfall that might come their way; though the Earl himself had remained at home this year, perhaps forbidden by Her Majesty to sail, as a mark of her displeasure for his misfortunes of the preceding summer.

Burroughs took a few insignificant caravels in his voyage across from the mainland, passed by St. Michael's, Villa Franca, and came to anchor at Santa Cruz, in the island of Florez, where he was permitted to land unopposed. This was the port at which the carracks had been ordered to put in, and where they were to meet the fleet that was to guard them home. Two days after his arrival, Burroughs was startled at seeing a carrack under press of sail making for the island, and pursued by three English ships, with which she was maintaining a running fight. The carrack was the 'Santa Cruz,' and her pursuers the Earl of Cumberland's ships. Burroughs was not long in getting out of the harbour to assist in the capture. But the wind suddenly died away, and as the sun set the fourteen ships lay rolling helplessly on the ground-swell. With the morning it was intended to board the prize; but a furious storm that followed the calm about midnight scattered that plan and the ships. When the dawn came the carrack was seen ashore on the island, with hundreds of busy hands conveying her valuable cargo inland. Boats were lowered, and a hundred men of the fleet rowed ashore. No opposition was offered. But the wreck had been set on fire by the retreating crew. Some plunder was taken; the fire could not be extinguished; and so the boats re-

turned with the purser of the carrack, who had been made prisoner, and the stray handfuls of pillage which had been snatched from the flames.

The purser of the 'Santa Cruz' gave the English information which consoled them over their loss. Three other and larger carracks would arrive at Florez in about fifteen days. All the English ships, having taken in a full supply of water, put out to sea, and when six or seven leagues westward of the island formed a line across the path of the expected prizes. The ships took up their position two leagues apart, and thus covered two degrees of longitude.

Raleigh, in returning to England, had observed that the taking of the Plate fleet would be a work of patience; and so it now promised to become, should the long line of observation formed by the ships of Burroughs and the Earl of Cumberland be left undisturbed. But while they were watching and waiting, Don Alonzo De Bassano with his fleet of twenty-three galleons appeared at the islands. His orders were to go first of all in search of the carracks and escort them into some well-fortified harbour in the islands; then he was to take certain heavy guns for the fortifications at St. Michael's. But Don Alonzo reversed these orders and spent some time landing the heavy ordnance, after which he proceeded towards Florez, arriving too late.

For nearly five weeks did the English lie a-hull at their stations six leagues west of the island; and their patience was at last rewarded. On August 3 'a prodigious great carrack called the "Madre de Dios," one of the greatest burthen belonging to the Crown,' came sailing into the net so dexterously spread out. Captain Thomson was stationed in the line of her advance, and valiantly opened fire; but he was so well received that he

quickly sheered off, with the loss of several men. Burroughs himself dashed for the prey, and came to close quarters. The yards of the 'Roebuck' were locked to those of the 'Madre.' But Sir John was not long in sending men aloft to disentangle the ships. The 'Roebuck' was supposed to be in a sinking condition, having received one or more shot beneath the water-line. Burroughs succeeded in getting out of range to pump the 'Roebuck' and stop her leaks.

The ships lying on the extreme flanks of the line, hearing the sound of battle, hastened towards the prey. But for some of them it was a summer day's sail. Those that were near at hand having seen what had happened to Thomson and Burroughs, stood off at a safe distance while the 'Madre' ploughed on towards Florez. The Englishmen were astonished at her magnitude. Such a ship had never been seen by them before. Her burthen was fifty tons more than that of the great galleass that grounded at the mouth of Calais harbour. She measured one hundred and sixty-five feet from stem to stern. She had seven decks; and though built for the carrying trade was armed with two hundred and thirty brass cannon, and manned by a crew of six hundred.

As this pretty procession of the 'Madre,' with all her sails spread, four or five English ships a short distance astern, and others hastening up, came in sight of Florez, Captain Cross, in Her Majesty's ship, overtook the naval pageant. He was no sooner within range than he poured a broadside into the stern of the carrack, killing the helmsman and bringing the 'Madre' to. The 'Providence' ranged athwart the enemy's stern and continued pouring in large shot. Not a man could stand at the helm. The Spaniards were falling rapidly; still no English ship was willing to get into the line of the 'Madre's' broadsides.

Cross drew nearer and added a fire of small shot to the large. The other ships now joined him, directing their fire also at the enemy's stern. The captain of the Spanish ship, finding his vessel unmanageable, and more English vultures still appearing above the horizon, lost heart. Captain Cross was appropriately the first man to board her. They found the Spaniards slaughtered in heaps upon her decks; and the English had only narrowly saved her from sharing the fate of the 'Santa Cruz.'

With this capture Burroughs was content. There were two more carracks due; but Don Alonzo was coming up to try and repair his blunder. From Florez it seems to have been almost a chase between the English with their great prize and Bassano with his galleons. Only the year before some valuable captures had been retaken by the Spaniards; and so the seven-decker was conveyed towards England with all possible haste. Frobisher was between them and the coast of Spain, and might form a rearguard, could he only be fallen in with. In this they seem to have been successful.

CHAPTER LXXV.

The tidings spread to England in advance. Perhaps Burroughs had come in the fast-sailing 'Roebuck' to announce their good fortune, leaving the slow-sailing carrack to follow after. Great anxiety was felt by the venturers. Not only did they esteem her within the reach of recapture while on the sea, but even when at anchor in any of the Western ports. Raleigh and Hawkins had a consultation over the matter, and wrote to the Lord-Admiral saying they estimated the carrack to be worth

500,000*l.* There were Spanish men-of-war known to be lying upon the coast of Bretagne. In all likelihood these might make an attempt to recapture so great a prize; and failing that, they might set her on fire. Would the Lord-Admiral therefore send the Channel fleet, now reduced to three ships, to her protection 'until the "Garland" and some of the same fleet be returned, whose arrival cannot be any long time expected'?

Frobisher had done his part of the undertaking. He had kept the Spanish fleet on the coast of the mainland, under the impression that his squadron was the whole of the Raleigh expedition, until it was too late to save the carracks. Two of the four had been lost to Spain. In that day they represented millions sterling, and the loss of them was the ruin of Don Alonzo. He lived awhile longer, but was never employed in the king's service, and died in disgrace.

On the other hand, the rejoicing in England was very great when the 'Madre de Dios' was brought into Plymouth. She was the largest vessel ever seen in the island; but the estimate which Raleigh and Hawkins had roughly made was found to have been born of a tropical imagination. A valuation made at Leaden Hall put her cargo down at 150,000*l.*, or equal to about 900,000*l.* present value. It was composed of spices, incense, silk, cloth-of-gold, ivory, calico, ebony, &c. But there had been many jewels on board, which was supposed to account for the difference in the two estimates of the cargo. The 'Madre,' too, had been 'first rummaged' before she arrived in England. Fortunately Frobisher had not been within sight of her, or some of the personal enemies who seemed to be always springing up in his path would doubtless have sent in to Burghley a list of abuses by a nameless commander.

The ship was taken possession of in the Queen's name by Commissioners sent down for that purpose. There were some protests against this course, and chiefly from the Earl of Cumberland. But Her Majesty pointed out that her ship the 'Providence,' under Captain Cross, had been mainly instrumental in the capture of the carrack; and, as between the different adventurers, her right could not well be questioned. Moreover, there was the Royal prerogative to support her action.

The Commissioners set on foot a diligent search for the lost jewels, but with no success. A proclamation was next published warning all who had purloined any of the treasure of the 'Madre de Dios' to produce the same to the Commissioners on pain of being prosecuted as thieves and pirates. Still the pilferers made no movement towards restitution. Finally, the suspected ones were brought up and examined. They denied on oath; and, coming out from the presence of the inquisitors, remarked, 'We had rather trust a merciful God with our souls, though stained with perjury, than venture our money, which we have got with so much danger and pains, into the hands of unmerciful men.'

It was considered a great hardship by the Earl of Cumberland that he should receive only 37,000*l.* But inasmuch as that was the full share coming to his ship, and he himself had been ashore, no wrong was done him. We may be sure that Frobisher received all that was due to him in the distribution of the prize-money. The Queen would not forget her Admiral in the general scramble of the private venturers.

There are good reasons for believing that Frobisher hastened to his Yorkshire home after his return from the coast of Spain in September. The mansion which he had begun was proceeded with, affording him employment of

a kind congenial to a mariner retired. A new estate called the Manors of Warmfield-cum-Heath was purchased. But the prize-money was not soon spent. Other sums were invested in valuable leases in his neighbourhood. Thus Frobisher had become a large landed proprietor. In 1593 he was placed on the commission of the peace, being made a justice of the West Riding.

For nearly a year Frobisher led the uneventful life of a country squire—too happy to have a history. But the times had not ceased to be warlike. England was still threatened by many foes, and the Continent ever resounded with the march of armies. So able and brave a commander as Frobisher could not long be spared to the peaceful pursuits of draining, fencing, and improving estates. Though the Queen had many other great sailors ready to do her bidding, she seemed resolved to employ only Frobisher in her naval undertakings. And events on the Continent were even then preparing the last task of that busy life.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

As to the necessity of keeping the ports of the Netherlands from falling into the power of Philip of Spain there had been no doubt in the mind of Elizabeth. With the same keen watchfulness that she had shown in following the motives of the Duke of Parma did she now observe the greater success of the League in gaining possession of the harbours on the north-western and northern coast of France. For the struggle between Madame League and Henry had not yet died out, though Henry had recanted the reformed

religion and obtained possession of Paris. In Brittany, Normandy, and elsewhere Spanish garrisons still overawed the inhabitants, and Elizabeth was determined that the Spaniards should not hold the opposite shore. They already commanded Morlaix, St. Brieux, Rouen, and other ports. But in 1591 Don Juan d'Aquila had landed a Spanish force in the port of St. Louis, to the south of Brest, and, after fortifying the place, marched across the neck of land that separates the Bay of Douarnenez from that of Brest, and in the neighbourhood of Crozon erected a fort, which he named after the village, and which closed the port, and gave the Spaniards the possession of the harbour.

Elizabeth had been accustomed to give Henry as well as the States-General of the United Provinces some blunt advice. The war in France was to her exchequer a weekly charge of 3,000*l.*, and this gave her the right to speak out. 'Believe me,' she wrote to Henry, when she perceived how chivalrously he was expending her men's lives in brilliant, fruitless encounters with the enemy, 'if I see that you have no more regard to the ports and maritime places nearest to us, it will be necessary that my prayers should serve you in place of any other assistance.' When Henry recanted she gave way to an appropriate wail of disappointment, and declared that she would withdraw every one of her soldiers out of France. Yet she was easily dissuaded from carrying out her threat, since the Spaniards were so powerful on the coast and Brest was more than threatened. Philip had not given up his intention of fitting out another invading Armada, and Brest would be of all places the very harbour for his purpose.

Marshal D'Aumont, President of the States of Brittany, sent deputations to Elizabeth and Holland, as soon as the

Crozon fort had been erected, showing how much it was to the interest of the Protestant maritime powers to capture the place. Sir John Norris was sent for out of Brittany to give an account of the siege of Morlaix, then proceeding, as well as his opinion of what had better be done at Brest. The result was that Elizabeth sent back D'Aumont's deputies with a promise of 5,000 men and a fleet: the United Provinces promising 1,500 men. But Elizabeth demanded security. With Jewish sagacity she had lent to the Netherlands and taken the cautionary towns in pledge. With the same usurious shrewdness she now demanded Brest from the States of Brittany.

Frobisher had been already commanded away from his Yorkshire home and justiciary occupations to take charge of the Channel fleet. D'Aquila was hourly expecting reinforcements out of Spain, and Sir Martin was ordered to blockade the harbour of Brest with a portion of the fleet and cruise in the Sleeve with the remainder.

On July 9 the Admiral set sail out of Plymouth with the following ships:—

The Dreadnought	200 men.
„ Swiftsure	200 „
„ Awnswearn	100 „
„ Advantage	100 „
„ Tremontaine	70 „
„ Advice	40 „
„ Merlin	36 „
„ Sun	32 „
Six ships and two pinnaces . .	778 men.

While proceeding to the blockade of the French harbour the fleet cruised along the coast to the southwards for some weeks, during which the Admiral, with the strange foreboding which so often seizes warriors entering their last battle, was engaged with his scrivener in composing a voluminous will.

Young Martin, his adopted heir, the husband of Mary, Dame Dorothy's daughter, was now dead, and the Admiral had adopted another nephew, Peter Frobisher, to succeed him. The latter was on board with his uncle during this cruise. The nephew's character and the uncle's affectionate nature appear in an anecdote which Fuller tells. A comrade of the Admiral, learning the disposition he had made of his numerous properties, 'desired him to consider well thereof, for his kinsman was a weak man and not fit to manage the estate; that he had other kindred as near as he was more able of parts to manage it. To the which he replied, "My will shall stand; it (meaning his estate) was gotten at sea, it will never thrive long at land."' It is said that the prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. Captain Peter Frobisher, after flourishing awhile as a justice of the peace, squandered his property and died in penury.

Sir John Norris, in command of the English auxiliaries, was ready to sail out of Plymouth on August 29, and found great difficulty in keeping his men together. Desertion and mutiny were at work in the force. In writing to Cecil he requested that 'those mutineers of Norfolk and Suffolk may be punished, whose example may at all times hereafter breed much inconvenience.' He continues: 'I have cause to doubt that our seamen will not so well intend the service for the fort by Brest as will be requisite, and therefore it may please your honor that if any pinnace be sent after them they may have an especial charge to have greater regard to that than to anything else, for otherwise I fear they will seek the liberty of the sea.'

Sir John was referring to the unquenchable ardour of mariners for prize-money, and the great temptations held out on the coast of Spain. But he learned to know

Frobisher better before the task in hand was accomplished.

Norris landed at Pimpol on September 1. Morlaix capitulated; and the advance towards Brest began after two weeks' delay. The Lord de St. Luc, 'a wonderful brave man,' went before with a body of arquebusiers to scour the villages to the east and south of Crozon and post some troops to guard against an attack from the rear. Arriving in the neighbourhood of Brest, they found the fleet at anchor opposite Crozon. Frobisher at once joined the advance guard under De Luc with four hundred of his sailors. The villages of Inez, La Fou, Châteaulin, and Laconau were taken; and the fortified town of Quimper was suddenly attacked. The suburbs were taken. The garrison held out for a few days. Sir Henry Norris was left with a few regiments to complete the capture while the remainder of the forces returned to besiege Crozon.

Meanwhile the fleet had been increased by the addition of some ships, which were, perhaps, the 'Vanguard,' 'Rainbow,' and 'Quittance.' These brought fourteen pieces of heavy ordnance. Some of the smaller vessels were ordered back to the Channel, leaving under Frobisher eight ships and two pinnaces, containing 1,190 men.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

The position was formidable by nature; and all the engineering skill of the Spaniards and Italians had been expended on the place to make it impregnable, in which it was supposed they had succeeded. The fort was built

on a small projection or peninsula facing the town of Brest, and was defended on nearly three sides by the water of the harbour. The remaining side, being the south, was fortified by nature with two towering rocks, one on either flank, mounted with cannon. On the inner side of each rock the Spaniards had erected a strong bastion, the space between being strengthened with a curtain thirty-seven feet thick at the top, and backed by a strong entrenchment. The usual moat and counterscarp protected the position on the outward side.

D'Aquila had committed the command of the fort to Don Thomas de Praxides. The garrison was 400 strong.

The besiegers consisted of 2,000 English under Norris, who took up a position opposite the western bastion; 3,000 Frenchmen, posted opposite the eastern; 3,000 horse, engaged in guarding the rear; and 400 gentlemen. Besides these was the fleet under Frobisher.

On October 1 the place was formally besieged and ground broken. From the water on either side of the peninsula trenches were dug and approaches made. The Governor of Brest had been generous of promises of ordnance, pioneers, and gabions. But all the besiegers could get from him were two culverins. So the approaches advanced but slowly and under many difficulties. Three days were spent in landing the mortars and siege-guns, which consisted of fourteen pieces. By the fifth the platforms were partially erected in spite of the continuous heavy rains. Next morning the garrison made a sortie on the English trenches. There was a sharp contest and a brief one; the Spaniards being driven back, with the loss of seven or eight men. The English lost but one man; and yet it was a greater loss than that of the enemy. As the Spaniards sallied out of the fort Sir Anthony Wingfield, Serjeant-Major of the English forces,

stood up to animate his men waiting the attack behind the gabions. He was pointing his rapier towards the foe, when a cannon-ball, carrying the blade with it, passed through his body.

While the work of completing the platforms and mounting the guns opposite the centre of the Spanish position was in progress the garrison made another sortie. This was six days after the former, and against the French position. The latter were surprised, forty of their men slain, and their trenches taken. After this success the sallying force faced to the right and charged down on the English. But the attack was bravely met, though with the loss of a dozen Englishmen; the Spaniards were driven home and the French trenches regained for them by the troops of Norris.

All this time Frobisher had been keeping up a steady fire on the western side of the fort, though without making any perceptible impression. On the 23rd the land battery began to play on the curtain, and after 700 rounds the massive walls showed scarcely any signs of a breach. The parapet and flankers had alone been levelled; therefore Norris ordered forward 100 men, under Captain Lyster, the rashest of all men, and one utterly incapable of distinguishing between the possible and the impossible of attainment. His instructions were to seize upon and hold the counterscarp. In this he was successful. But Lyster and a few of the gentlemen who accompanied him conceived the mad design of taking the place by assault, unbreached as it was. Leaping over the interior crest, he cheered on his men, who followed him ardently. The semblance of a breach was gained, and most of the party attained to the very top. Sir Thomas Baskerville, bravest of the brave, whom the Duke of Parma embraced at Sluys, saying, 'There serves no

prince in Europe a braver man than this Englishman,' called on his men to follow him to the support of Lyster. Springing over the parapet, he reached the foot of the breach, when the half-surprised garrison, gathering to the defence, hurled their assailants from the summit. A quick retreat was effected, and the rash leader escaped without a scratch. The losses were four captains, an ensign, a gentleman, and eighteen soldiers slain; twelve officers wounded, besides many men.

This cooled the ardour of the English, and taught them that the fort of Crozon was not to be taken without breaching. They were angry that the French had made no attempt to support their assault; but the latter could wisely answer, in presence of the result, that the breach was not practicable. Seven hundred rounds had made so small an impression on the works before them that Marshal d'Aumont began digging a mine towards the eastern bastion. While engaged in this task intelligence reached England of the brave but disastrous assault, and this gave the Queen an opportunity of delivering Norris a lecture on the virtues of prudence and regard for human life, qualities indispensable to commanders of others. 'The blood of man ought not to be squandered away at all adventures,' she wrote. 'The boiling heat of pushing and forward men had need be curbed and not encouraged and egg'd on into danger and ruin. If you observe these measures you will save the credit of your conduct, and sit free, at the same time, of the charge of cruelty.'

Eighteen days were spent in preparing the mine, with no diversion except a second sortie on the French position, which was as successful as the former. It was a very rainy day. The powder and matches were wet; so that the Spaniards were able to come to push of pike without receiving a volley. The French were driven from their

trenches with the loss of about thirty men, among them being De Luc, one of the Marshals of the camp. As before, the English came to their assistance and regained the trenches for them.

Frobisher had landed all his men and heavy guns, taking up a position on the extreme left. The battery was personally directed by him, and waited for the completion of the mine to open fire. The siege had continued much longer than had been anticipated, and the cry homeward from the Admiral was for victuals. Mr. Darell had collected a store at Plymouth and Dartmouth, but there they lay while Frobisher was having recourse to the old method of replenishing his stock by putting his men on short rations.

Very early in the morning of November 7, D'Aumont sent for Norris and informed him of the arrival of intelligence that Don Juan d'Aquila was coming by forced marches with a strong army to rescue the garrison. Therefore the siege must be raised, and the army disposed to meet the succouring force. Norris would not hear of it. D'Aumont was ill that day. Norris asked for the chief command, which was readily given him.

Orders were immediately issued for the artillery to play. Then every man was assigned his charge. Frobisher and his men, provided with ladders, were to scale the western side; the land forces were to make the assault in front. At noon the mine was fired, carrying with it a great part of the curtain in front of the French position, and thereby providing them with a breach such as 'a man might have ridden up on horseback.' Before the smoke had cleared away the whole line was advancing to the attack. From twelve at noon until half-past four the struggle at the breach went on. The Spaniards were fighting for their lives. No quarter was asked or given.

Meanwhile Frobisher and his sailors had planted their ladders and scaled the rampart. They too were stoutly resisted, but without avail. Frobisher forced his way in. At that moment a Spanish soldier fired his arquebus at the Admiral within arm's length. The shot took effect in his hip, carrying the wadding in with it. Still the Admiral cheered on his men, and with a sudden dash took the western bastion. The Spanish colours were hauled down, and a guard left in charge. Sallying out with the rest of his force he attacked the defenders in the rear. Praxides was already dead in the breach, surrounded by a heap of slain. Attacked now from within as well as without, the Spaniards were dispersed and the fort taken. Those of the garrison that remained sought to escape, some by swimming, some by hiding among the rocks. But, with five or six exceptions, every Spaniard, 'never asking for mercy,' was put to the sword.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

The Queen and Council seem to have taken for gr that Mr. Darell had carried out his instructions. But the meat, butter, cheese, beer, &c., were on the wharves of Plymouth and Dartmouth rapidly decaying. He could find no transports to convey the victuals across the Channel, and was beginning to talk of re-selling the provisions to save them, while the country's mariners were fighting on empty stomachs within a day's sail of this red-tape official. Frobisher had heard of Mr. Darell's assigned reason for not forwarding the victuals, and sent

two of his ships to perform that service. But they came not back. Perhaps Mr. Darell was waiting for authorisation to deliver the goods into Her Majesty's ships instead of chartered transports.

The day after the taking of Crozon, Frobisher lay on his couch dictating the following letter. He had now an additional reason for employing an amanuensis:—

'Englan(d). My humble dutie my honorable good L(ord) the viith (of this) mounth by a batterie undermininge and a verie dan(gerous) assault wee have taken this fort with the losse (of ——) of our people but non of any acompt. They (defended) it verie resolutlie. And never asked mercie. S(o. they) were put all to the swoord savinge five or six th(at) hid themselves in the rockes. many of them were slain (with) our Cannon and greatt ordenaunce in defendinge o(f the) breatch with there Captaine one Perithos. It was tyme for us to goa through with it for Don (John) is advanced within six leagues of our armie with a(n) intente to have succoured them. Sir John No(rris) doth rise this daie and doth martch towarde th(em) to a place called old Croydon. Wee are about to gett in our ordenaunce as fast as w(e) can, and so to make repaire homewardes. Sir J(ohn) Norris would willinglie have some five hundred of (the) sayllers for his bettar streinght against the da(ie) of meetinge with Don John w(hi)ch I would very willinglie have don yf we had vittles to contin(ent all) our fleett here for the tyme. I was shoott in with a bullett at the battrie alongst (the) huckell bone. So as I was driven to have an ins(ision) made to take out the bullett. So as I am neither (able) to goa nor ride. And the mariners are verie unwi(llinge) to goa except I goa with them myselfe; yett (yf) I find it to come to an extremitie we will (try) what we are able; yf

we had vittles it were (verie) easilie done but heare is non to be had. I ha(ve sente) accordinge to your honours derections tow shipp (as to) Plymouth and Dartmouth, we most presentlie s(aile) away yf they come not to us with vittles. This bearer is able to certiffie you^r^ honours (with) all thinges at large. So with my humble p(rayers) to the Almyghtie for you^r^ increase in hon(our)

'Croydon this viiith of November 1594

'Your honours most humble

'to comande

'Mr. Mondaie arived the xxviii of October at Breste and brought with him a thousand crownes for our vittlinge the which was distributed amongst the shippes

'MARTIN FROOBISER.'

While this letter was being written on board the 'Vanguard' a detachment of the land force was razing the fortress and blowing up the bastions. At the same time Norris, with the main body, was marching southwards to meet D'Aquila. The Spanish General, learning the fate of Crozon, sent a herald to ransom the prisoners; by whom Norris sent back the gloomy answer that their ransom was already paid, and the army at leisure to offer him battle. Seeing that nothing was to be gained by fighting, D'Aquila returned whence he had come.

When the news of the victory over the Spaniards reached England, and the brave deeds of Frobisher were told in details of which there is no record, the Queen and Council, attributing all the glory of the capture of the fort to the Admiral, determined on a special recognition of his services. The Queen, copying from a draft of Cecil's, with certain alterations of her own, addressed him a letter in her own handwriting:—

'Elizabeth R.'

'Trustie and welbeloved, wee greet you well: we have seen your letter to our Threasuror and our Admyrall and thereby perceive your love of our service, also by others your owne good carriage, whereby you have wonne yourself reputation; whereof, for that wee imagine it wil be comfort unto you to understand wee have thought good to vouchsafe to take knowledge of it by our owne hande writinge.

'Wee know you are sufficiently instructed from our Admiryall, besides your owne circumspection howe to prevent any soddaine mischiefe by fire or otherwise upon our fleete under your charge: and yet do wee thinke it will worke in you the more impression to be by ourselfe again remembred, who have observed by former experience that the Spaniards, for all theire boaste, will truste more to their devices than they dare in deed with force look upon you.

'For the rest of my directions, wee leave them to such letters as you shall receave from our Counsaile.

'Given under our privie signet at our mansion of Richmond the 14th of November, in the thirty sixth yeare of our reigne 1594

'L. S.

'To our trustie and welbeloved
'Sir Martin Furbissher, Knight.'

At the same time the Lords of the Council despatched a letter of a decided tone to Mr. Darell, requiring him to lay hold of any ships lying at Plymouth and send off eight or ten days' victuals to the fleet at Brest immediately; and they added, 'You shall either have shipping sent for the rest or some reason yielded for the contrary.'

But the wounded Admiral and his half-fed crews were no longer at Brest. The wound was not mortal in itself. And the surgeon who had made the incision extracted the ball, but left the wadding behind. On which Fuller observes: 'Swords or guns have not made more mortal wounds than probes in the hands of skilless chirurgeons, as it here came to pass. The chirurgeon took out only the bullet and left the bumbast about it behind, wherewith the sore festered.'

Frobisher felt his days were numbered, and ordered the fleet to sail for Plymouth. He was carried ashore; and the Queen's letter was delivered to him. It was a timely and fit reward. Having heard the praises of his sovereign and commended his 'soul into the hands of Almighty God, his Maker, hoping assuredly through the only merits of Jesus Christ his Saviour and Redeemer to be made partaker of life everlasting,' he yielded up the ghost on November 22, 1594.

He had written no directions as to his place of burial; that was left to God and his executor; but his 'funerals' should be kept at the parish church of Normanton. In the register of St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, there is this entry: '22 Nov: 1594. Sir Martyn Frobisher being wounded at the fort built against Brest by the Spanyards, deceased at Plymouth the 22 Novemb, whose entrails were here interred but his corpse were carried home to be buried in London.'

In the records of the church of St. Giles's Cripplegate, under the head of burials for the month of January, 1594 (1595), there is this brief entry:—

'S[r] Martyn Ffurbusher Knyght—14. [day]'

CHAPTER LXXIX.

When Frobisher first emerged out of the seclusion of home and Yorkshire, a lad 'of great spirit and bold courage and natural hardness of body,' he came not, as a young Hannibal or Drake, with a paternal vengeance to be wreaked on the enemy of his nation and religion. He was just such an ardent, adventure-loving boy as one may find in a mess of middies on board any of our own Queen's ships.

With superabundant faith in the heroic, and happily endowed with the strength and courage necessary for bringing forth the works of that faith, he was flung off by his maternal uncle and fell on his feet in that paradise of boys, the forecastle of a rover, and perhaps a slaver.

He possessed only the education which a mother gives to her youngest boy; he could read and almost write a large round hand. But he was overflowing with latent greatness. He took with him a fortune which can be estimated in no symbols arithmetical or algebraic—the inheritance of noble qualities descended from an ancestry of gentlemen bound to honour and duty more than life.

In such a school, where right must always ally itself with might, where authority is only to be preserved with a hard word, and sometimes a harder blow, the noble qualities developed. It was the case of an oak planted on a seaward cliff, whose branches are toughened by the boisterous gales, and are at the same time stunted and deformed.

The rough life of the privateering captain, with its ready expediencies in the face of unexpected perils, its many temptations to plunge into piracy, its sufferings

from hunger and thirst, its quelling of mutinies with a keen, broad partizan,—all this is lost for us. Yet one needs no predominance of imagination to picture Frobisher's ten years of roving. He was a youthful commander. A voyage out of the sight of land was almost a novelty; the rocks, shoals, and currents of the ocean were marked on no chart; the degrees of longitude were put down of the same width from pole to pole; no law was acknowledged on the high seas; pirates infested even the mouth of the Thames; and yet in a Liliputian bark the English mariner was prepared to roam over unknown seas.

Either his meeting with Michael Lock or Humphrey Gilbert touched a secret spring in the young captain's soul which opened a chamber hitherto dark and uninhabited. Lock had long been drawn 'to the study of cosmography,' and had convinced himself of the existence of a North-West Passage to Cathay. Humphrey Gilbert had arrived at the same conclusion, and published a pamphlet to prove it, in which he mingles Homer and mathematics, deducing a second Magellan's Straits from the *primum mobile*, and quoting Esther and Ahasuerus to show that there was a good market for calicoes in the far East.

The interest awakened by the speculations of these theorists doubtless saved Frobisher from sinking into lawlessness. He was on the point of becoming a confirmed buccaneer. Henceforth he had a noble object which lifted him above the low level into which he had drifted, and privateering became a means to an end, as the primary school to the youthful village master who spends his evenings reading for a profession. After his return from each voyage he hastened to Lock's house to listen to the conjectures of the retired master mariner,

pore over his charts of imaginary coasts and channels, and gather from Doctor Dee all that the great astrologer and cosmographer was pleased to communicate. To pursue for fifteen years the noble purpose of sailing a ship 'by the West to the East' was in itself something, though the quest had never been made. His unmeasured courage and perseverance were exhibited in the voyage and dangers of the 'Gabriel.' His readiness of resource came out on every occasion of dismaying peril. His great physical strength completed his endowment for the work before him. His skill in seamanship was tried in making three successful entrances into Frobisher's Straits, which to this day are a region avoided by every mariner. He was the first man who ever went in search of the North-West Passage; and he was the first Englishman who ever attempted to establish a colony on the American continent, although the spirit of discovery within him was by the force of circumstances subordinated to the venturers' greed for gold. He took the first Protestant missionary to the New World, and by him the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was for the first time administered according to Protestant rites on that continent.

Fuller says of his character: 'He was very valiant, but withal harsh and violent (faults which may be dispensed with in one of his profession).' This has been repeated by almost every subsequent writer who has made any sketch of the Admiral's life. Campbell's paraphrase of this charge is: 'A true patriot, yet in his carriage blunt, and a very strict observer of discipline, even to a degree of severity, which hindered his being beloved.' If Campbell supposed any of Queen Elizabeth's great captains was 'perfumed like a milliner,' holding a pouncet-box 'twixt his finger and his thumb,' he is not wrong in applying to Frobisher the word 'blunt.' It is a quality not more rare

in a sailor than courtliness in a groom of the chamber. But Campbell is not justified in making Fuller's words mean that Frobisher was a martinet and unbeloved. The only circumstance that could be wrung to support such an assertion is a phrase in a letter of Raleigh's to Sir Robert Cecil when the command of the expedition of 1592 was transferred from himself to Frobisher. 'I have promised Her Majesty,' writes Raleigh, 'that *if I can persuade the Companies to follow Sir Martin Frobisher* I will without fail return.' The hypothesis means no more than that the expedition being composed of and equipped by the personal friends of Raleigh, they would naturally be unwilling to trust their lives and fortunes to any other commander, though he should be the most skilful in the world. There are many reasons for holding the contrary opinion of the knight's character. One of Master Sellman's accusations was that Frobisher was so lax in his discipline and lenient to the petty officers and mariners that no order could be kept on board. Again, no voyager of his time had so few mutinies. The 'Michael' and 'Thomas' of Ipswich alone deserted him. But the officers of both those vessels thought their Admiral drowned before they turned cravens. The experience of Drake, with the ready execution block, and of gentle John Davis was to have their subalterns mutiny in their very presence. Frobisher's oft-repeated efforts to regain his five men captured by the Esquimaux, and the sacrifices he was prepared to make to accomplish that purpose, exhibit the humane side of his character. In his letter after the capture of Fort Crozon he says, when referring to Norris's request for some of his men: 'The mariners are very unwilling to go except I go with them myself, yet if I find it come to an extremity we will try what we are able.'

Fuller's meaning is, doubtless, that Frobisher was possessed of a violent temper. But the passionate men are not usually the unbeloved. The severe martinet is more often the dapper, cultured, cool, low-speaking officer than the rude, herculean, boisterous sailor. Frobisher had never learned how to put a bridle on his indignation. Any suspicion of sham or wrong put him instantly ablaze, the consequence being that he raised against himself a host of needless enemies. He was a man heartily loved and heartily hated. And as for the coarse epithets which he employed in his moments of anger, his Queen was painted with the same brush; while for the Admiral there is the excuse that with all men the ugly phrases, half-forgotten, which still linger in the memory as the fruit of association with base companions, find free utterance from the choleric tongue. He was 'full of strange oaths. . . . jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel.'

Although Frobisher was not tainted with the love of money he allowed himself to be led by circumstances to the commission of that which his sense of honour must have condemned, in order to procure the means for the prosecution of his great purpose. The story of Palissy pursuing his heroic quest of the glaze, deaf to a hungering family crying to him for bread, had only been told ten years before. Martin Frobisher's search for the North-West Passage, with the widow Riggatt and her numerous brood hungering at Hampstead, was a repetition of it. Of such conduct it is hard to form a just opinion, inasmuch as the judgment and the sympathies do not coincide.

He was not a man devoid of domestic virtues. He had a strong love of his kindred and a kindly affection for his faithful servants, as we learn from the provisions of his will.

But 'the signal service in eighty-eight' is the chapter in his history which will always gain for him the readiest admiration. His share in the defeat of the Armada has been almost entirely attributed to Drake. Nowhere else have his achievements been so completely overshadowed. The Spaniards knew of only one English admiral, whose name was Drake, and so every desperate charge made upon the Armada was attributed to him. But no English authority has any achievement of his to record from the taking of Don Pedro's ship to the battle of Gravelines; while the Queen was so pleased with Frobisher during that crisis to the realm, that she employed no other admiral during his lifetime after the year 1589.

He had the prudence of Hawkins with the resolution and quickness of Drake, while his dauntless courage was all his own. It was valour spiced with what can only be called devilry, acquired in his privateering days. His seamanship has perhaps never been surpassed.

Elizabeth's admirals were all great men. They had great faults as well as great virtues. It was fertile soil that produced gigantic weeds as well as heavy ears of corn. They trod the rough, thorny path of heroes. They knew not where their bodies should lie: their roving, perilous life made that uncertain. It was in God's keeping. But for their souls they were certain. Their faith in their religion and in an overruling Providence—who helped them in storms and among icebergs, who wrought for them continual miracles of deliverance, who confounded the knavish designs of their foes, and always protected their Queen, giving 'her the victory over all her enemies'—would raise a laugh of scorn in the barracks or forecastle of our day. They had an adoring loyalty, an unwavering faith in the unseen, both good and evil, very rare now. Satan is not terrible to men who

have refined him out of their creed; but those old worthies believed in the Devil, and yet feared him no more than the Spaniard. The man who did his duty to God and his country needed not to fear anything, seen or unseen. That much they knew and lived; and in that faith they died, leaving the rest to God and their Saviour.

APPENDIX.

THE WILL OF SIR MARTIN FROBISHER, KNIGHT.

(SOMERSET HOUSE) 2 SCOTT, 86, PAGE 46.

IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN. The day of In the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fyve hundred nynetie and ffowre, I Martyn Ffrobissher knighte beinge in perfecte healthe and of good remembraunce thanked be Almightie God with good advice and consideracion doe make and ordeyne this my laste will and testament in writinge in manner and forme followinge. That is to saie, Ffirste I commend my Sowle into the handes of Almightie God my maker hopinge assuredlie throughe the onlie merritts of Jesus Christe my Savioure and Redeemer to be made partaker of Liffe everlastinge And as concerninge my Bodie I commend yt to my mother the Earthe from whence it came to be interred where it shall please God to call me at the discreacion and disposicion of my Executor. But my will and mynde is that the solempnizacion of my ffuneralls shalbe kepte at the parishe churche of Normanton and my house called Ffrobisher hall in Altoftes in the Countie of Yeorke. As towchinge provision to be hadd and made for Dame Dorothie my welbeloved wief by this my laste will and testament my will and mynde is and by theis presents I give, will and bequeathe unto the said Dame Dorothie my wiffe in full recompence of all claymes, challenges or demaundes whiche she may make unto my goodes chattells or moveables whatsoever either by common lawe custome or other wise after my decease (and in consideracion she shall refuse to take nor shall take any other

Domini Martini Ffrobisher Militis.

benefitt or profitt use or commoditie of my said goodes or chattells other then I shall give lymitt and appointe by this my laste will and testament). All her jewells chaynes Braceletts pearles Buttons of goulde and pearlé egletts and rynges whiche she hathe nowe in her possession and I give her bothe these Jewells, soe I have croste it oute the vijth of Auguste 1594. And I give her all her wearinge apparell what soever and as muche of my plate which I nowe have at my house called Ffrobisher Hall in Altoftes in the Countie of Yorke, as shall amounte to the value of twoe hundred poundes the one half thereof in silver plate valued at ffive shillinges the ounce and the other half to be of parcell guilte at sixe shillinges the ounce in value. Alsoe I will give and bequeathe to the said Dame Dorothie my wiffe the thirde parte of all my lynnen and naperie in the same house beinge lyinge or in use there to be equallie divided in to three equall partes of the worste a third parte of the better sorte a third parte and of the beste sorte a third parte and the same to be delivered by Executor if he be then livinge or by him or them w^{ch} shall be appointed by this my laste will to be a dealer herein my executor beinge deceassed. Item. I give will and bequeathe unto the said Dame Dorothie my wief the bedsteades and Beddes with there furniture to them, whiche I lefte standinge lyinge and beinge in that chamber of my said house, wherein my said wiffe doeth usuallie lie and lodge in, and the bedsteades Beddes and there furniture whiche I lefte standinge lyinge and beinge in the chamber in my said house wherein her daughter and waytinge women and chamber maides lye and lodge and all suche houshold stuffe as I shall leave at in and aboute my house in Wathamstowe in the Countie of Essex and none other. Item. I give will and bequeathe unto her my said wiffe my twoe coches with there furnitures and my twoe white coche horses and after that the other horses, mares, Geldinges and Coltes mencioned and particulerlie named limited or appointed by me to others in this my will given and they chosen oute by my Executor to dispose them accordinge to my said will. Then my will and mynde is that my said wiffe shall make her choyse oute of all

the reste and residue of my said horses, Mares, Geldinges and Coltes of sixe whiche she shall beste like of and them to take and have to her owne proper use for ever. Item. I give and bequeathe unto her my said wief Tenne of mylche kyne and halfe the stocke of sheepe ffatt and leane whiche I have, to have to her use as her owne goodes. The Residue of all my Jewells plate money debts obligacions goodes chattells reall and personall, housholde stuffe moveables and inpleaments of houshold whatsoever I have (and whiche I have not expressed, given and before bequeathed and devised to the said Dame Dorothie my wife) by this my will I give, will and bequeathe towardes the performance of my ffuneralls paymente of my debtes and suche legacies as hereafter shalbe by me in my Testament expressed lymitted and appointed to be paid and performed to Peter Ffrobisher sonne to my eldeste Brother John Ffrobisher deceased. Whiche said Peter Ffrobisher I ordeyne appoynte constitute and make my sole Executor of this my presente laste will and Testament And doe make and appointe Ffrauncis Boynton of Barmestone in the said Countie of Yorke Esquier, and Ffrauncis Vaughan of in the said Countie Esquire my overseers of this my said laste will and Testament, and I give to every of them one Coulte ffole of my Turke to chose them owte amongeste my coltes.

THIS IS THE LASTE WILL AND TESTAMENT of me the said Martyn Ffrobisher knighte towchinge and concerninge the disposicion of all my landes, tenementes, hereditaments, tithes and ffee ffarmes aswell those whiche I nowe have in possession as those whiche I have to come in revercion or remaynder whatsoever within the realme of England. Ffirste I will give and devise unto Peter Ffrobisher beinge sonne to my eldeste Brother John Ffrobisher deceassed for tearme of his liffe all my Mannor of Whitewood withall the demeanes and services courtes rentes proffites and all other Commodities, liberties royalties commons fisshings waters landes tenements Meadowes, feadinges, pastures, woods, underwoodes Mores, Heathes, marshes, and all howses, edifices and Buildinges whatsoever scituate sett and beinge in and uppon the said Mannor and all other the appurtenaunces

whatsoever to the Mannor belonginge, apperteyninge or heretofore have byn with the same occupied, letten, reputed or taken to be as parte, parcell or member of the said Mannor withall other hereditamentes revercion and revercions remaynder and remaynders whiche sayed Mannor is scituate lyinge and beinge in the parrishe feildes or Towne of Ffetherstone in the countie of Yorke and whiche I late purchased or had of our soveraigne Ladie Queene Elizabethe to me and to my heires as by Her graces letters patent more at large appearethe. And all that my house called or knowen by the name of Ffrobisher Hall or called by any other name or names whatsoever scituate sett and beinge in Altoftes in the parishe of Normanton within the Countie of Yorke withall my landes, tenements, meadowes, pastures, woodes underwoodes as well free holde as coppie holde, whiche I have in the Lordshippe or Mannor of Altoftes or ells where within the Mannor of Warmfeilde and Heathe and within any other Towne feilde parrishe hamlett or any other place in the saide Countie of Yorke or by what name or names soever they be called or knowen or have byn knowne, letten reputed or taken with all and singuler there appurtenaunces, And all that my Mannor or capitall messuage called or knowne by the name of Brockholls or by what name or names soever yt is or hathe byn called or knowne and all those my landes, tenementes rentes revercions or revercon remaynder or remaynders and all other hereditamentes withall and singuler theire appurtenaunces whatsoever I have scituate, sett, lyinge or beinge in the parrishe towne feildes hamlett or circute of the parrishe or Towne of Canteley or in any other towne or parrishe theire adioyninge or ells where within the said Countie of Yorke. And all that Graunge called or knowne by the name of Ffyninglye Graunge or by what name or names soever it be called or knowne or hathe byn called or knowne. And all my landes, howses, tenementes meadowes feadinges pastures, commons and all other hereditaments with there appurtenaunces whatsoever I have scituate, sett, lyinge and beinge within the parrishes, ffyeldes townes, hameletts or liberties of Ffyninglie, Blackstone, and Auckeley or any of them beinge within the counties of Yorke

and Nottingham or any or bothe of them or ells where within the said Counties. And all other my landes tenementes, Mannors revercion and revercions, remaynders and hereditaments tythes and ffee ffarmes, whiche I have purchased to me and to my heires whatsoever and whiche are not yett come to my possession wheresoever they be in this realme of England and whensoever they or any of them shall come fall happen and accrewe I freely give with all other my landes in possession and hereditamentes, tithes and fee farmes whatsoever I have within the said realme of England to the said Peter Ffrobisher beinge sonne to my eldeste Brother John Ffrobisher, to have and to holde all and singuler my Mannors, lands Tenements hereditaments and all other the premisses with there appurtenaunces before resited by this my laste will and Testament to be devised willed and given, and mencioned or ment to be willed devised and given and by this my said laste will devised willed and given unto the said Peter Ffrobusher for by and duringe the tearme of his naturall life without ympeachment of waste And after his decease to remayne goe and be to the heire male of his bodie, lawfullie begotten or to be begotten for tearme of liffe of the said heire male withoute impeachment of waste, and soe from heire male to heire male for terme of life withoute impeachment of waste untill the heires males of the issues male commynge from the bodie of the said Peter be deceased, And for defaulte of suche yssue and heire male as is before mencioned and mente, Then all the before devised premisses with the appurtenaunces and all hereditamentes ment and mencioned by this my laste will and testament to be devised willed and given to goe remayne come and be to Darbie Ffrobisher sonne to Davye Ffrobisher my deceased brother, to have and to holde to the said Darbie for tearme of his naturall life without impeachment of any manner of waste, and after his decease to remayne come and be to the firste heyre male of his bodie, begotten, then livinge, to have and to holde to the said firste heire male of his Bodie begotten for by and duringe the tearme of his life and soe lyniallye to everie heire male of the bodyes of the heires males of the said Darbye, begotten untill theire be noe heire male lefte of there Bodies be-

gotten and for defaulte of suche heire male then all the before devised premisses with there appurtenaunces, I will shall remayne goe and be unto Ffrauncis Brackenburie, eldeste sonne unto my sister Jane Brackenburye for tearme of his naturall liffe withoute any impeachment of waste and after his deceasse to the heire male of his bodie lawfullye begotten, to have and to houlde to him for tearme of his naturall life without impeachment of waste and soe lyniallye from heire male to heyre male of theire Bodyes lawfullie begotten withe like estate untill there be noe heire male lefte of the bodies of the said heires male discended from the said Ffrauncis Brackenburie and for defaulte of suche heire male then all the before devised premisses whatsoever withe theire appurtenaunces I give and will shall remayne come and be forever unto Richard Jacksonne, sonne to my sister Margarett Jackson deceassed and to his heires forever. As towchinge the devise of all my leases whiche I have in possession and whiche are to come to me in revercion whiche I doe exempte and accompte to be noe parte of my goodes for that my meaninge and intente is that they shall have there contynewaunce and goe from heire to heire untill there severall tearmes be ended and not be solde or delte by my Executor as parte of my goodes for that there wilbe sufficient otherwise to discharge bothe my Ffuneralls, debtes and legacies my will and mynde is that my nephewe Peter Ffrobisher my Executor shall duringe there severall tearmes receive, perceive and take the yearlie proffitts and commodities of all my said leases and them improve for greater rentes as he shall thinke fytt but neither to sell them nor to take greate fynes and soe to dyminishe there rentes but shall soe order them as they shall and may continewe unto his heire that shall sucseed him accordinge to the intente and true meaninge of this my said laste will, excepte suche leases as I shall by this my laste will and Testament dispose and appointe of in manner and forme hereunder written. Therefore my will and mynde is that if the said Dame Dorothie my wiffe will and doe refuse and not take any Benefitt or commoditie either by common lawe or custome to clayme challenge or have her dower or thirde parte in all my landes and Tenementes nor make clayme or demaunde to any of my goodes or chattells other then

to suche as I have and shall give bequeathe and assigne to her by this my laste will. Then in full recompence of her thirdes or dower of all my landes and Tenementes my will and mynde is that she shall have all suche legacies guiftes and bequeastes whiche I have before in this my will mencioned to give and bequeathe unto her and in like manner that if she the said Dorothie my wiffe will inhabite and dwell in my mansion and dwellinge house in Altoftes aforesaide for by and duringe the tearme of Ffortie yeares (yf she happen to live soe longe) Then my will intente and meanynge is that she shall have the occupacion use and manuraunce (to her proper use and Benyfitt) of my said dwellinge house and all my landes and tenementes in Altoftes whiche I have there aswell ffree holde as coppie holde lyinge and beinge in the parishe of Normanton and that my heire by this my will shall accordinge to the custome of the said Mannor of Altoftes make her a lease of the coppie holde, landes and alsoe shall have the manuraunce and occupacion to the use aforesaid of the Mannor of Altoftes and all the landes tenementes and hereditaments and perceyve and take the profittes thereof accordinge to the lymitacion of Ffortie yeares above mencioned if she live soe longe uppon theis condicions hereafter followinge That is to saie that she the said Dame Dorothie my wiffe shall at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme duringe her dwellinge and habytacion therein at twoe feastes in the yeare, that is to saye at the feaste of the Annunciacion of owre Blessed Ladie Sainte Marie the Virgin and Saincte Michaell the Archangell by even porcions or in the tenthe day nexte ensuinge every of the said ffeastes at or in the Curche porche of the parrishe churche of Normanton aforesaid betweene the howres of one and ffowre of the clocke in the afternoone of the said severall dayes for the preservacion of my lease of the Mannor of Altoftes from beinge forfeited; pay or cause to be paid unto the my said Executor of this my laste will and to him to whome the said lease shall come and accrewe accordinge to the true intente of this my laste will and testament all suche rentes and ffarmes as are reserved at the said feastes by the said lease or to be payde within certeyne dayes nexte after the said ffeastes yerelie or

halfe yerelie as they shall growe due and payable and alsoe doe performe fullfill and keepe all and all manner of covenauntes grauntes articles and agreementes whiche I my executors and assignes are tyed by the saide lease to performe and uppon and under this condicion that she the saide Dame Dorothie my wief shall not doe any manner of strippe nor waste or willinglie suffer to be done in or uppon any the landes tenementes or hereditaments in her use or occupacion and if the said Dame Dorothie my wief will not inhabite in my said house at Altoftes and accepte of this my bequeaste (in recompence of all thirdes and dowerie) before to her willed and will departe and leave all to my Executor, Then I will that she shall have all suche moveable goodes, Jewells plate and housholde stuffe as I before in the firste parte of my will of my moveable goodes have given and bequeathed unto her, and alsoe by this my will doe give will and devise unto her for by and duringe her naturall liffe one annuytie or yerelie rente of Twoe hundred Markes by yeare of lawfull money of England to be yssuinge goinge out receyved and taken of all my landes tenementes leases and hereditamentes lyinge and beinge within the parrishe of Normanton in the saide countye of Yorke to have and to houlde the said annuytie or yearelye rente of Twoe Hundred Markes to the said Dame Dorothie my wife and her assignes from the tyme of her refusall disclayminge and renownsinge to take the benyfitt of her dowerie and third parte of my landes and likwise to disclayme to take any other benyfitt by this my will, then this annuitye or yearelye rente and the goodes to her in the fformer parte of this my will bequeathed willed and given for by and duringe her naturall liffe the said annuytie to be paid at twoe tearmes or feastes in the yeare, That is to saye at the feaste of the Annunciacion of our Ladie Sainte Marie the Virgine and Saincte Michaell the Archangell by even porcions, The firste paymente thereof to beginne be had and made at suche of the said twoe feastes as happen nexte after her refusall, disclayminge and renownsing as before is lymitted appointed or mente, and my further will is and I doe appointe that if the said annuytie or any parte thereof after my wife hathe made her election of the same

shalbe behinde and unpaid att anye of the feastes and dayes at which the same is before herein lymitted to be paid and by the space of eighte and thirtie daye nexte after the said ffeastes or anye of them the same beinge lawfullie demaunded by the said Dame Dorothie my wief or her assignes in or att my said mansion howse at Altoftes and an acquittaunce offred or tendered to be made sealed and to be delivered uppon the payment thereof for dischardge of the same, That then and at all tymes after suche defaulte of payment yt shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Dame Dorothie my wiffe to enter into all my landes, tenementes leases howses and hereditamentes w^ch^ I have in the parrishe of Normanton aforesaid and the same to have occupie and take the proffitt thereof to her and there use untill my said Executor or he or they to whome the said landes or Tenementes shall come and be according to this my laste will or theire or his assignes doe pay or cause to be paide unto the sayed Dame Dorothie my wife or her assignes all the said rent or parte of that annuytie whiche shalbe behinde and then due to be paid and the somme of lawfull money of England in the name of a peyne over and above the said annuytie for that the said annuytie or rente was not payed accordinge to the lymitacion of this my laste will and if the saied Dame Dorothie my wief shall refuse and doe not accepte of neither of theise my bequeathes observing and performynge the orders and manner of refusall and disclaymes before in this my will lymyted and appointed or mente by the same to be done but will have the benyfitt of her thirdes of all my landes and challenge what the lawe will give her, Then my will and meaninge is that she shall take noe benyfitt or advauntage of this my will other then the Jewells apparrell and the twoe hundred poundes worthe of plate and the third parte of lynnen and the twoe coches, and twoe horses withe theyre furniture and the Beddes and theire furnyture whiche I have in the former parte of my will given unto her and noe other of my goodes, Jewells, plate or moveables to have, and if she make challenge and suite to recover or have from my Executor the thirde parte of my goodes and chattells or to have and recover them by any lawe or custome and

will nor doe contente her self with this porcion of my goodes to her before bequeathed in liewe of her thirdes thereof. Then I will and my mynde is that she shall take noe benyfitt of this my laste will but she to have what parte thereof the lawe will allowe her. Notwithstandinge I have given by this my will to my Executor all my leases as well in possession as those to come in revercion. Neverthelesse my will and mynde is and I will give and bequeathe to Richard Jackson my Nephewe and to his assignes my lease and tearme of yeares whiche I have to come in revercion of the Mannor of Hawghton in the countie of Yorke and all the landes, howses tenements hereditaments and appurtenaunces with the same letten or demised in as full and ample manner as I was to have had it if it had byn in my possession, to have and to holde the same lease nowe in reversion and when it shall fortune to come in possession to him his executors and assignes for soe longe tyme and tearme as it is to me graunted demised or lett'n and under the same condicions and covenaunts and my Executor not to meadle or deale therewithe, Provided alwayes and it is my will that the saide Richard my Nephewe his Executors and assignes when and as soone as the said lease shall come in possession that he they or some one of them from the comensment and begynninge of the saide lease shall yerely duringe the whole tyme and tearme of the saied lease at Twoe feastes or termes in the yeare viz^{t} at the ffeaste of the Annunciacion of oure blessed Ladie S^{t} Marie the Virgine and Saincte Michaell the Archangell or att or in the eighte and twentie daye nexte ensuinge everie of the saied ffeastes by even and equall porcions paye or cause to be payde in the Churche porche of the parrishe Churche of Castelforthe in the Countie of Yorke unto William Jacksonne Brother to the sayed Richard to his executors administrators or assignes the somme of Tenne poundes of lawfull money of England viz at the dayes before lymited at everie paymente ffive poundes and if it shall happen the said paymentes yearelye duringe the tearme or any of them to be behinde and not paide accordinge to the lymittacions and appointmentes of this my will. Then I will that it shalbe lawfull to and for the said William Jackson my nephewe and

Brother to the said Richard his executors administrators or assignes to enter into the said Mannor and all the landes with the same demysed and letten and them to occupie manner and take the proffittes thereof to his and there owne use untill the said Richard or his assignes doe pay or cause to be paid unto the saied William his executors administrators or assignes all suche sommes of money as shall then be due to be paid of the saide paymentes before lymited and not paied as before is by me willed. Item. I will and my mynde is and I give unto William Haykes my olde servaunte in recompence of his good and faythfull service to me heretofore done, one annuytie or yearelye rente of Sixe poundes thirteene shillinges and ffowre pence to be goinge owte hadd and taken of and in my Mannor of Whitwood and all my landes and Tenementes with there appurtenaunces to the same belonginge or apperteyninge lyinge sett and beinge in the Countie of Yorke to be paied by my said Executor and by those to whome the said Mannor shall hereafter come att twoe severall ffeastes or dayes of payment in the yeare viz the Annunciacion of our Ladie Saincte Marye the Virgine and the feaste of Saincte Michaell the Archangell by even porcions the firste paymente to begynne at the firste feaste of the saied Twoe feastes whiche shall firste happen and come by and after my deathe, to have and to houlde the sayed annuytie or yearelie rente to the sayed William Haykes and his assignes for by and duringe the naturall liffe of him the saied William and if the sayed yearelie rente or annuitie or any parte thereof at anye of the dayes and tymes before limytted in whiche it owghte to be paid be behinde and unpayed beinge by the saied William or his assignes lawfullie demaunded at the sayed Mannor howse of Whitwoode. That then and from thensforthe it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saied William and his assignes into the sayed Mannor to enter and distreyne and the distresse theire soe had, to take leade and beare away and in his power to reteyne untill he be of the sayed yearelie annuytie or soe muche thereof as shalbe behinde be unto the saied William or his assignes well and truelie satisfied and paied. Item. I will and my mynde is and I give and bequeathe unto Marye

Masterson the yearelie rente or ffarme whiche I nowe receive of Eighte poundes and odde money by yeare of my ffarmor of my Mannor called Brockholls in the countie of Yorke duringe the tyme and tearme of yeares of his lease that hathe yett the lease in possession of the same and will that my Executor and all others to whome the same Mannor or Capitall Messuage called Brockholls before mencioned in this my laste will of the devise of my landes shall quietlie permitt and suffer her the said Marie Mastersonne and her assignes as my assigne to receive the same rente or farme whiche the tennaunte thereof dothe yearelye paye, to her owne use for by and duringe the said tearme whiche is yett to come if she the said Marie Mastersonne doe happen to live soe longe. And after the same lease in possession is expired then my Executor or whoe soever he be that by vertue of this my will is to have the same. My will and mynde is that he or they whiche shall soe have the same (she the said Mary Masterson beinge then lyvinge) shall yearelie paye or cause to be paide unto saide Marie Mastersonne or her assignes for by and duringe her naturall liffe att twoe usuall ffeastes or tearmes in the yeare the somme of Twentie poundes of lawfull money of England by even and equall porcions. That is to saye at the feaste of the Annunciacion of oure Ladie Sainte Marie the Virgine, Tenne poundes and Sainte Michaell the Archangell other tenne poundes. And if my Executor or he or they to whome the saied Mannor or Capitall Messuage called Brockholls shall hereafter come shall make defaulte of paymente unto her or her assignes accordinge to the true intente and meanynge of this my will, she or her assignes lawfullie demaundinge the same at the saide Mannor or Capitall messuage called Brockholls, That then it shall and may be lawfull for her by this my will and her assignes to enter into the said Mannor or Capitall messuage and all the Landes, Tenementes and hereditamentes belonginge to the same and the same to occupie, manure and take the proffittes of the same untill the sayed somme or sommes of money whiche shoulde have byn payed unto her or her assignes fullie aunswered satisfied and payed and the arrerages of the same if any happen to be unpayde. Ffurther

my will and mynde is and this my will I give and bequeathe unto Jane Brackenburie my sister for by and duringe her naturall liffe one annuytie or yearelye rent of Tenne poundes of lawfull money of England to be yssuinge received had and taken owte of all my landes and Tenementes in the Countie of Yorke to be payed to her or her assignes by my Executor or by him or them to whome the same Landes after my decease shall come att twoe usuall feastes or tearmes of payment in the yeare by even and equall porcions, that is to saye at the feastes of the Annunciacion of oure Ladie and S^t^ Michaell the Archangell and yf ytt shall happen the sayed yearelie annuytie or rente to be behinde and unpayed att anye of the sayed ffeastes and dayes of payment before lymitted in whiche it oughte to be payed and not payed in or att the Churche porche of the parrishe Churche of Kyrthope, she or her assignes there demaundinge the same, that then my will and mynde is and I will it to lawfull for her or her assignes into anye parte or parcell of the saied landes or Tenementes charged withe the same annuytie or rente to enter and the same to occupye to her owne use and take the profittes thereof untyll she the saied Jane or her assignes be of the sayed annuytie or rente and the arrerages thereof whiche shalbe then unpayed fullie satisfied and payed. Ffurther I will that my Executor shall paye unto Katherine my Sister Jane her daughter and my neece, the somme of Tenne poundes of lawfull money of England within one yeare after my decease and that she and her husband yf she shall then be married to make a dischardge uppon the payment thereof yf not then she sole to make a discharge. Item. I will and give unto Margaret being the Daughter of the laste before named my sister Jane her Daughter other Tenne poundes to be paide to her in the like manner and she to make like discharge uppon the receipte thereof. Item. I will and give unto Katherine Boroughes graunde childe to my Sister Jane Brackenburie ffortie poundes to be payed by my Executor or him or them whiche shall have my landes by vertue of this my will within Twoe yeares nexte after my decease; That is to saie, Twentie poundes the ffirste yeare and the other Twentie poundes the nexte yeare for whiche legacie and somme of money yf it be

not payed accordinglie I give her or her assignes (she haveinge overlived the sayed twoe yeares) full power and aucthoretye to distreyne for the same in any my landes in the Countie of Yorke. Item. I give and bequeathe unto Anne my brother Davy Ffrobisher his daughter Tenne poundes of lawfull money of England to be payed to her within one yeare after my decease by my Executor or by him or them which shall hereafter have the dealinge and disposicion of this my landes and goodes. Item. I will and give to Edithe Ffrobisher my Brother Davyes Daughter beinge unmaried Ffortie poundes to be payed by my Executor or by him or them whiche shall have the performaunce of this my will within Twoe yeares nexte ensuinge after my deceasse, that is to saye Twentie poundes within the firste yeare nexte after my decease and the other Twentie poundes the seconde yeare nexte after my decease and she to make a dischardge uppon the receipte thereof. Item. I will give and devise unto Marye Ffrobisher wydowe, my wifes Daughter, Twoe hundred poundes of lawfull money of England to be paied to her by my Executor or by him or them whiche shall have the performaunce and disposinge of this my will within one yeare nexte after my decease and she to make upon the payment thereof a dischardge for receipte of the same and for defaulte of payment thereof within one monethe after her demaunde made by her or her assignes and the yeare expired after my decease and she then livinge I will that then and from thensforthe it shall and may be lawfull for her and her assignes to enter into my Mannor called Whitwood and the landes and Tenements thereto belonginge before mencioned in this my will and to occupie manure and take the proffittes thereof untill she be thereof or soe muche of the sayed somme of Twoe hundred poundes as shalbe then unpayed well and truelie payed and uppon paymente thereof to avoyde and he or they uppon whose possession she or her assignes dyd enter, to have the same Mannor and landes agayne. Item. I will give and bequeathe to Dorothie Ffrobisher my wives Graunde childe, Twoe hundred pounds to be payed to her by my Executor wheun she shall accomplishe her age of ffyfteene yeares and if he be not then

liveinge then by suche as shall have the performaunce of this my laste will and if defaulte of paymente be made of the same Twoe hundred poundes Then I will that at the end of the sayed fiifteene yeares and and (*sic*) within one monethe nexte after demaunde made by her or her assignes of the same of my sayed Executor or of him that then shalbe reputed my heire by vertue of this my will and the same not payed, Then I will that she the sayed Dorothie or her assignes shall enter into that my Mannor of Whitewood and all the Landes and Tenementes to the same belonginge and appertyninge before in this my will mencioned and the same to use occupie and to take the proffittes thereof untill she the sayed Dorothie be well and truelie satisfied and payde the foresayed somme of Twoe hundred poundes or soe muche thereof as shall then be behinde and unpayed. And ffurther my will and mynde is that after the sayed Dorothie hathe accomplished her age of Tenne yeares then my Executor or he or they whiche by this my will shall have and take the benifitt of my landes and Tenementes in the same willed and bequeathed as my reputed heire shall pay or cause to be payed unto her the sayed Dorothie untill she accomplishe her sayed age of fiifteene yeares viz for five yeres Tenne poundes every yeare att twoe severall paymentes by even porcyons at the ffeastes of the Annunciacion of oure Ladye Saincte Marie the Virgine and Sainte Michaell the Archangell; the ffirste payment to beginne at the feaste of the foresayed feastes that shall happen nexte after her age of Tenne yeares is accomplished and if defaulte of paymente be made of the said annuall pensyon the same beinge by her on her assignes as Gardians lawfullie demaunded of my sayed Executor, she the sayed Dorothie or her gardians shall have full power and aucthoritie to enter into any parte of my foresaid Mannor of Whitewood and take the use occupacion and Manuraunce of soe muche of the saied landes and Tenements as in all Judgment shalbe worthe Twentie poundes by yeare to be letten and the profitt thereof commynge to take to her use untill the sayed annuall pension be unto her or her assignes as is before expressed be fullie satisfied and payed. Provided alwayes and my will mynde and intente is that yf any of the legacyes in

this my will to whome I have given any giftes of money or other legacyes doe fortune to dye and decease before theire dayes or tymes of paymentes come and be expyred whiche are before lymited and sett downe in this my will and the same legacyes or guiftes nott expresslie sett downe bequeathed assigned or appointed to whome they shall goe be and remayne that then the same guifte or bequeaste or parcell of any guifte or bequeaste wch is not all to be payed at one tyme (as such there be in my saied will) be it money or other thinge or payemente to be made whatsoever shalbe and remayne to the onelie benifitt and use of my Executor or those whoe shall succeed him in estate accordinge to the lymitacion, of this my laste will and that they to whome suche guifte or bequeaste was made shall have noe powre to will give bequeathe or dispose of the same for that is my true intente and meanynge. And that all distresses, entryes or any other fforfeytures or devise sett downe in this my will for the better obteyninge of any legacie gifte or bequeaste to him or them soe deade or deceased before there tyme of payment shall come shall utterlie cease as if noe suche meanes had byn lymited appoynted or devised. And fynallie notwithstandinge any guifte, lymitacion or aucthoritye of entrie into any Mannors, landes and Tenementes and occupacion use or Manuraunce thereof for non paymente of legacyes or other bequeastes in this my will mencioned expressed or willed. That my executor his heyres nor the heyres of any that shall clayme by vertue of this my will by from or under me for non performaunce of the paymentes and porcyons lymytted to be payed in the same unto my wife or any others in this my will mencioned in the same stricte manner sorte and condicion as before in this my laste will and Testament is lymytted and expressed. Yett neverthelesse my will mynde and intente is that neither he the sayed Peter Ffrobissher my Executor nor any other succeedinge in estate after him by vertue of this my will to whome I have lymitted any estate of Inheritaunce or ffreeholde shall forfeyte there estate or estates to them or any of them given lymitted and appointed by this my will eyther in Landes or leases but that they to whome any benyfitt of entrie occupacion use manur-

aunce or takinge the proffittes of Landes, Tenementes or leases for the better and speedyer obteyninge of there legacyes guiftes annuyties rents pensyons devises or bequeastes for non paymente of them, shall have the sayd Landes Tenementes or leases as a pledge untill they be payed and satisfied of there sayed legacyes or guiftes whatsoever and then the heire to enter agayne. My will is that my Executor shall give to my lovinge ffreinde Maister Thomas Colwell, a geldinge of Tenne poundes price or Twentie Anglells or Tenne poundes in money for his paynes he hathe taken at the deliverye of this my will or otherwaye he to detayne this my will till he be satisfied for the geldinge or the money. In witnes whereof this to be the true will of me the sayed Sir Martyn Ffrobisher, I have to everye leaffe of the same will sett and subscribed my name beinge sixteene leaves in nomber and put to my seale beinge labelled upon the toppe the ffowreth daye of Auguste in the sixe and thirtie yeare of the raygne of oure soveraigne Ladie queene Elizabethe in the presence of those whose names are under written as witnesses to the same. Martyn Ffrobiser. Witnesses to this presente will we Thomas Colwell writer of the sayed will, Anthonie Lewes, Tymothie Perroll, Richard Ffarrer his marke.

Item. My will and mynde is that my Executor or he whoe shall by vertue of this my will after my deceasse have and take the benifitte of the same by vertue of any legacyes lymitacion of appointmente eyther as my heires or otherwise shall directe advise councell in all pointes towchinge this my will by my lovinge freinde Maister Thomas Colwell shalbe umpyre in any thinge towchinge any controversie or any legacie that may rise growe or be question betwixte him or them, And by this make him overseer and delar in this my saied will for whiche his paynes I will my Executor or he or they that shall take the benifitt of this my will as my heire shall give him Twentie poundes within one yeare or three monethes if my will be perfected after my death when he shall call for the same. Item. The Coppie of this here inclosed under my hande this Seaventhe of Auguste, One Thousand ffive hundred Nynetie and ffowre.

Probatum fuit suprascriptum testamentum apud Londõ

coram Magistro Thoma Creake legum dcore Surrogato venerabilis viri Magri Willmi Lewin legum etiam dcoris curie prerogative cant magri custodis sive commissarii lime constitut Vicesimo quinto die mens Julii Anno dni Millimo Quingentesimo Nonagesimo Quinto Juramento mri Thome Browne Notarii publici procuratoris Petri Ffrobisher Executoris in hmodi testamento nominati cui commissa fuit administracō omni et singulor jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti. De bene et fidelir administrand etc. Ad Sancta dei Evangelia Jurat.

(Proved was the above written will at London before Master Thomas Creake Doctor of Laws, surrogate of the venerable man Master W^m^ Lewin, also Doctor of Laws, of the Prerogative court of Canterbury, Master, keeper or commissary lawfully constituted, on the 25^th^ day of the month of July A.D. 1595, by the oath of Master Thomas Browne, Notary public, proctor of Peter Frobisher executor in the same will named, to whom committed was administration of all and singular the rights and credits of the said deceased, concerning the well and faithfully administering etc being sworn upon the holy gospels.)

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